

1-1-1991

Dealing with lesbian, gay, and bisexual concerns : multicultural organizational development in higher education.

Felice Yeskel

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Yeskel, Felice, "Dealing with lesbian, gay, and bisexual concerns : multicultural organizational development in higher education."
(1991). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 4825.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/4825

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.



312066008658605

DEALING WITH LESBIAN, GAY, AND BISEXUAL CONCERNS:
MULTICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

FELICE YESKEL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1991

School of Education

© Copyright Felice Yeskel 1991

All Rights Reserved

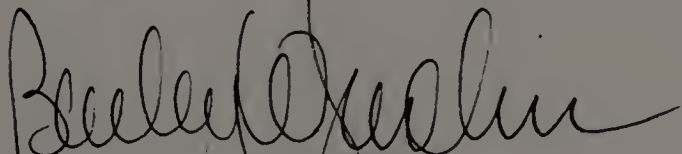
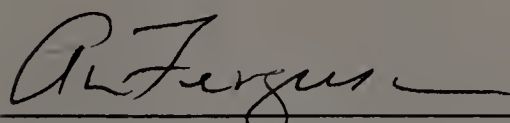
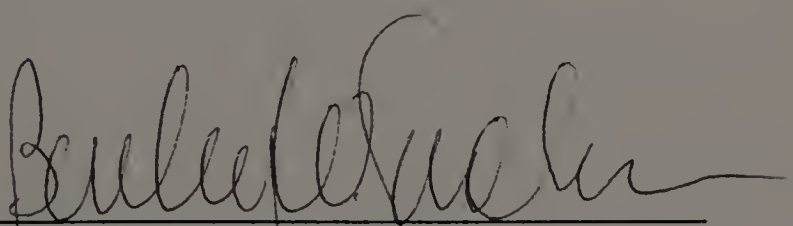
DEALING WITH LESBIAN, GAY, AND BISEXUAL CONCERNS:
MULTICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER
EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

FELICE YESKEL

Approved as to style and content by:


Bailey Jackson, Chair
Patricia Griffin, Member
Ann Ferguson, Member
Marilyn Haring-Hidore, Dean
School of Education

To my father, Harry S. Yeskel, who loved me no matter what.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all of my friends and comrades who listened to my ambivalence about writing this dissertation, thanks for letting me kvetch. It helped.

I would like to thank the members of my committee, Bailey, Pat, and Ann for their patience, responsiveness, and belief in me. Bailey, I stumbled upon your Oppression class in 1983 and through it found myself unexpectedly in graduate school. Your teaching and work on issues of oppression and multicultural organizational development have allowed me to pursue my life's work within an academic context. I have enjoyed thinking, and struggling with you about ideas. Thanks for hanging in there with me through this long process. Pat, I've appreciated you as my comrade in making this campus better for lesbians, gays, and bisexuals. Your excitement and interest in my research helped sustain me when I forgot why it mattered. You helped de-mystify the dissertation process, and empowered me as a qualitative researcher. Thanks for your prompt and careful editing of my work. Thanks, too, for appreciating me for the work that I do and for laughing with me. Ann, I appreciate you for modeling being a grass-roots activist and an academic, you helped me see that the combination is possible. You hung in there with me through a few dissertation proposals and supported me at each step of the way. You took my work seriously enough to ask fundamental questions, thanks for encouraging my thinking in this way.

So many friends were instrumental in this process in a variety of ways. Grace and Betsy and Jerry you talked me through the initial phases of confusion, asked questions from an activist perspective, and encouraged me to do it even though you all had doubts. Linda M. you helped me refocus at the point I was ready to let it go, checked in with me regularly, and shared the benefit of your experience with me. Larry you offered solace, understanding, practical suggestions, and affection, thanks. Bill S. thanks for helping me with library research and digging up what little there was. Chris M. thanks for your on-

going computer wizzardry at all hours, you saved the day on a few occasions. My comrades in DiversityWorks encouraged me and provided a context for practicing the preaching. Jim B. you were a co-traveler in this process, nudging me as we moved along. I'm glad I got to share it with you. Ange and Donna, my dissertation support group, listened to me, laughed with me, cried with me, told me what to do next, read what I wanted to toss into the wastebasket, and in many other ways supported me in this process. Thanks also to Kol, Amy, Linda, Deborah with whom I shared many Shabbats and so many other loving friends with whom I shared movies, swims, hikes, talks, meals, etc.

Vicky, thanks! You listened to me, were impressed by my progress (however slow it seemed to me), walked with me, offered massages, and stayed close. Julie, you encouraged me, believed in me, loved me, offered perspective, and shared your children with me. Jerry you were a wonderful loving and supportive housemate, gave me lots of massages, and let me hog the computer. Chris you listened, cooked meals, dealt with my bad moods, offered to edit, went for walks, and lived with me through part of this process. Betsy you offered a wonderful refuge from the process when I needed a break, didn't ask me why I was doing it as often as you wanted to, thought with me when I felt stuck, listened to the minute progress reports, gave advice on how to break down such a big project, and loved me in so many ways. I will always be deeply awed and grateful. Eileen you helped me finish this undertaking. You let me take over your room, didn't distract me too much, thought with me, listened to my daily ups and downs, read my latest few pages and gave me helpful and supportive feedback. Getting to know you provided a wonderful and exciting balance to the work, thanks for your caring and sharing. Thanks all of you for being my friends, my community, and my chosen family.

I want to appreciate my supervisor JoAnne Vanin who let me take a two month leave from my job so I could finish this. I also want to thank my co-workers at the Program for GLB Concerns for pitching in while I was gone, and letting me sometimes be distracted when I was there.

Finally, I want to thank my mother. All my life you've believed in me, pushed me, loved me. I appreciate you for my sense of intellectual confidence, my pioneering spirit, and my desire to change the world. You deserve a lot of credit for this piece of work. Ma, if you hadn't wanted me to be a doctor so badly, I probably would never have done this.

ABSTRACT

DEALING WITH LESBIAN, GAY, AND BISEXUAL CONCERNS: MULTICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

MAY 1991

FELICE YESKEL, B.A., UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

M.A., SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by : Professor Bailey Jackson

While campuses across the country struggle to become more multicultural, there appears to be an increase in various hate crimes on campus. Studies have documented that homophobic harassment on campuses is especially severe, and that lesbians, gays, and bisexuals are among the most likely targets of hate crimes. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual students, staff, and faculty face other forms of discrimination as well. Campuses are often caught unaware of these problems, and are at a loss for solutions. The fields of organizational development and multicultural organizational development, which have traditionally addressed issues of diversity within organizations, have predominantly focused on issues of race and gender.

This study served to broaden the range of issues included within the domain of multicultural organizational development by explicitly focusing on the issue of sexual orientation. The purpose of this exploratory study was to examine how and why change occurs with respect to lesbian and gay concerns on campus. An in-depth case study was conducted of one university that was decisively addressing heterosexism. Findings were derived from a review of various documents and interviews conducted with advocates for change. Specific factors and successful change strategies were identified. These

strategies were analyzed with respect to meta-paradigms of strategies for social change, as well as concepts from the field of multicultural organizational development.

A developmental model for how campus change happens on lesbian and gay concerns is suggested. This model provides a useful framework for those wishing to improve campus conditions for lesbians, gays, and bisexuals. It also can provide an important foundation for those seeking to address heterosexism within other institutions. Researchers concerned with how change on lesbian, gay, and bisexual concerns compares with change on issues of race, gender, or ethnicity may also find this study of use. Implications of the findings of this study for the field of education are explored and directions for future research are proposed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Institutional Responses to Heterosexism and Homophobia On Campus.....	2
Purpose of Study	6
Definitions of Terms.....	8
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	10
Introduction.....	10
Oppression of Lesbians and Gays	10
Characteristics of Heterosexism.....	13
Gay and Lesbian Activism and Conservative Reaction.....	17
The Campus Situation.....	19
Students' Attitudes Toward Gays and Lesbians	20
Homophobic Harassment and Violence on Campus.....	21
Gay and Lesbian Identity Development Issues.....	23
Visibility and Health.....	24
Academic Issues and Issues for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Faculty.....	25
Institutional Responses to Heterosexism on Campus	27
Organizational Development.....	29
Multicultural Organizational Development	31
OD and MCOD on Campus: Factors for Consideration.....	38
OD on Campus: The Challenge of Enhancing Racial Diversity	40
Frameworks for Understanding Change Strategies.....	46
III. METHOD	50
Introduction.....	50
Overall Approach	50
Site Selection	51
Data Collection Techniques.....	52
Data Analysis Strategies.....	56
Establishing Trustworthiness.....	57
Presentation of Findings	59

IV.	RESULTS: DESCRIPTION OF CASE	60
	Introduction.....	60
	Background Information on Rutgers University.....	60
	Historical Background on Lesbian and Gay Concerns.....	66
	History of Lesbian and Gay Concerns at Rutgers	67
	Immediate Background of Lesbian & Gay Activity to Select Committee Formation.....	75
	Activity on Lesbian and Gay Concerns During the Period of the Select Committee's Work.....	98
	Conclusion.....	127
	Time Line of Major Lesbian and Gay Activity at Rutgers University	127
V.	RESULTS:ANALYSIS OF DATA	132
	Introduction.....	132
	Responses to Open Ended Questions.....	133
	Responses to Specific Questions.....	157
	Discussion and Summary.....	166
VI	CONCLUSION	175
	Introduction.....	175
	A Model of Campus Change on Lesbian and Gay Concerns.....	175
	Stages in the Cycle of Change.....	178
	Implications for Education.....	180
	Implications for Change Agents.....	183
	Implications for Future Research	192
	Summary	193
APPENDICES		
A.	LIST OF RUTGERS DOCUMENTS	194
B.	LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS.....	197
C.	SELECT COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP BY ROLE.....	200
D.	SELECT COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP BY TASK GROUP.....	201
E.	INTERVIEW GUIDE	203
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		206

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	SUMMARY ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES	48
2.	UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY	63
3.	FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CHANGE	158
4.	THE SEXUAL ORIENTATION DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS ASSESSMENT .	188

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is likely that the country's colleges will be plagued by prejudice as long as students, complacent in their insensitivity and ignorance, feel that parents, politicians, and even professors find such attitudes acceptable (Tifft, 1989).

American universities are at a frontier, as issues surrounding curriculum revision, hate crimes, privatism and privilege come into intellectual focus, providing us with our nation's moral vision. It is a frontier where civility, intellectual honesty, and free expression meet the ignorant brutality of hate, bigotry, and prejudice. If we are fortunate, the contest developing on the academic frontier will result in a democratic expansion, as new social groups and experiences are allowed to enter the Academy and have their rich voices heard for everyone's enhancement (In Every Classroom, 1989, p. 12).

Statement of the Problem

The situation on college and university campuses today is a microcosm of conditions in the larger society. The Supreme Court decision cutting back the power of affirmative action legislation may be the most recent signal of a national climate of increasing hate and intolerance. Television news specials and newspaper headlines report the latest incidents of racist, sexist, anti-Semitic, ethnic, and homophobic violence. In January of 1988 Time Magazine's regular section of Education featured an article entitled, "Bigots in the Ivory Tower." With respect to the increasing number of incidents of racial, religious and sexual prejudice, the article summarizes the plight of campuses at the current time. It states that, "... signs of intolerance are all too common on America's college campuses."

Amid this rise in intolerance toward many "out" groups, evidence suggests that gays and lesbians are the least tolerated and most disliked social group. (Crull & Bruton, 1979; Simmons, 1969). Reports of "queer-bashing" rise nationwide, in the wake of an AIDS epidemic erroneously blamed on "homosexuals." Our campuses are not immune to this violence, as documented in the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's report titled,

"Anti-Gay Violence, Victimization, and Defamation in 1988. "D'Augelli (1988), and Jan Sherrill, Director of the Center for the Study and Prevention of Campus Violence, go so far as to suggest that gays and lesbians may be the social group subjected to the most harassment and violence on campus (Collins, 1989). While this claim seems difficult to believe because of the frequency of date rape, it is clear that gays and lesbians are the targets of much harassment and violence.

As we move into the 1990's and headlines increasingly report racist, sexist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic incidents both on the campus and in the wider society, it is clear that the promise of our country as a diverse and welcoming society remains unfulfilled. A time honored belief that institutions of higher education are safe, liberal communities of scholars engaged in intellectual debate has been shaken. Like it or not, colleges and universities across the United States will increasingly need to deal with gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns alongside the concerns of racially oppressed groups, women, disabled people, Jews, and others.

Institutional Responses to Heterosexism and Homophobia On Campus

How well do colleges and universities really deal with gay, lesbian or bisexual concerns? Individual educators have argued that it is the responsibility of educators and educational institutions to deal with the issues of homophobia, (fear and/or hatred of gays, lesbians, or bisexuals) and heterosexism (the system of oppression toward gays, lesbians, and bisexuals). In discussing gay and lesbian issues on campus, Michael Ellis remarks, "as educators, it is part of our challenge to facilitate ways in which our students can confront and deal with issues that are threatening, issues that are risky" (p. 118). In Social Issues in Education: Challenge and Responsibility Sears argues,

Educators have a social responsibility to promote human dignity and to further social justice for gays and lesbians. In simplest terms this means providing a learning environment that is free from physical or psychological abuse, that portrays honestly the richness and diversity of humanity, that fosters an understanding of human sexuality, that

integrates homosexual themes and issues into the curriculum, that counsels young people who have or may have a different sexual orientation, and that supports gay and lesbian teachers (p. 81).

Colleges and universities have not lived up to this responsibility toward gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Stephen Lenton in addressing student affairs personnel remarks, "One out of ten college students is probably gay, a sizeable minority few of us have considered in developing student development strategies" (p. 266). Smart and Sutehall (1985) state, "only recently have our institutions begun to acknowledge the existence of gays and lesbians among our clientele..." (p. 3); "they are the minority that everyone sees, but no one recognizes" (p. 4).

There is no central repository of information concerning gays and lesbians on campus. Therefore, it is difficult even to definitively ascertain the current state of affairs with respect to institutional responsiveness to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns. The Campus Project of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the most likely repository of this information, lacks sufficient resources to undertake a rigorous survey of campuses nationwide. Therefore the following summary represents a best guess of the current situation.

Out of the 3,400-3,500 colleges and universities (Digest of Education Statistics, 1989, p. 219) nationwide only a small fraction currently have recognized gay, lesbian, or bisexual student groups--somewhere between three and four hundred. And out of these estimated four hundred groups many still struggle, often in the courts, over their right to exist, to be recognized, and to receive funding (Gibbs, 1979 & 1984; Stanley, 1984). These privileges that are often denied these gay, lesbian, or bisexual student organizations' include scheduling campus rooms, being listed in the school yearbook or handbook, having the opportunity to use the school's media, and having the opportunity to post leaflets announcing activities (Gibbs, 1984). Stanley (1984) suggests, "perhaps in no other area in recent years have the asserted first amendment rights of students clashed so with the will of school administrators (p. 398)." Student groups represent the most likely source of gay, lesbian, and bisexual visibility or existence. The relatively few groups that exist, as well as

the relatively hard struggle that existence often entails, testify to the barriers of heterosexism that exist and the largely regressive nature of institutional responses.

A much smaller number of colleges and universities nationwide, approximately forty-five, have adopted non-discrimination clauses that include "sexual orientation." Of the schools that have adopted such policies, most have done so in the last few years. Of those schools with policies, only about ten have investigated the incidence of homophobic harassment on their campus. It should be noted that these investigations were often initiated or conducted by individual faculty, students, or ad hoc groups. Few have been commissioned by top-level administrators. Further, only a few colleges or universities have attempted to systematically study the needs of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals and to assess whether available campus resources were sufficient to identified needs. Of these almost all have focused exclusively on students rather than including faculty and staff. Finally only four campuses, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Michigan, Ohio State, and the University of Pennsylvania have created full-time staff positions, and offices or programs for gay and lesbian concerns, to begin to meet these unmet needs.

A review of the literature revealed no published article describing the handful of schools who have undertaken comprehensive research and systematic responses to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns. The most common references on the subject of gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns on college and university campuses were a few articles dealing with mental health concerns and counseling gay, lesbian, or bisexual students; a few articles investigating college student attitudes toward homosexuality; and a few concerning the rights of gay, lesbian, and bisexual student organizations. The exception was an isolated article intended for professionals in a particular campus division (i.e. housing or student activities) describing some practical programming or training suggestion.

No literature detailing actual campus-wide responses or proscribing a range of possible responses was available. This information vacuum exists while pressure increases on

our campus institutions "... to respond to the needs of this "invisible" minority" (Smart & Sutehall, 1985, p. 3). As campuses concern themselves with issues of diversity and creating more multicultural environments, they will have to include gays, lesbians, and bisexuals in their definitions of multicultural (Scott, 1988). While this larger information vacuum exists, some individual campuses have produced reports presenting the results of research, and building a case for recommendations to address identified needs. Some of these reports provide a historical overview of their campus situation, and some have even included brief surveys or overviews of what other campuses are doing in the area of gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns.

Written descriptions of what campuses are actually doing to respond to and to try to improve the situation for gay, lesbian, and bisexual people are both few and far between, and difficult to access. However no written material of any type was located that focused on how or why campuses that had begun to deal with these issues and make changes did so.

Perhaps the severity of the situation for gays, lesbians, and bisexuals coupled with such a total lack of administrative attention, is due in part to the fact that gay men and lesbians have been visible as a group for such a relatively short period of time. It has only been in the last twenty years that gays and lesbians have been visible. The progress, such as it is, made by other social groups in our society has taken decades while the gay and lesbian liberation movement is but twenty years old. Institutions of higher education, as well, have only had to confront a visible gay and lesbian presence on campus since 1967.

Most institutions of higher learning are caught unaware of this "invisible minority." They are unsure how to respond to the serious problems faced by gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians because of heterosexism.

Purpose of Study

"Organizations are important "carriers" of social oppression. In fact, organizations represent and maintain the oppressive arrangements of society. Thus, organizations are an important arena for social liberation efforts and societal change" (Holvino, 1989, p. 3) It is my hope that this study will contribute to social liberation efforts and societal change by shedding light on an aspect of oppression within organizations that has received very little attention--heterosexism. If students who pass through colleges and universities across this country participate in efforts to reduce heterosexism on their campuses perhaps they will be in a better position to change other organizations they enter upon graduation. From this perspective the challenge of changing the heterosexism and homophobia of colleges and universities potentially provides a unique opportunity for a significant strategic impact on other organizations as well.

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the question of how and why universities respond in a positive manner to social justice problems, specifically the problem of heterosexism. An in depth examination of one campus that has started to address gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns in a significant manner will provide the focus of this effort. A systematic survey of all colleges and universities that have actively responded to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns would also illuminate these questions. However such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Because so few colleges or universities have even started grappling with gay, lesbian and bisexual issues, it is no surprise that research and writing in this area lag still further behind. In her book, Case Study Research in Higher Education: A Qualitative Approach, Sharan Merriam (1988) suggests that a qualitative case study approach may be most appropriate in areas where little prior research has been conducted. The questions of what do, how do, and why do colleges respond to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns fall into this category. Given the paucity of available information and consequently, the

ground-breaking nature of this work Merriam's methodological suggestion was followed; this is a case study investigation of one exemplary campus.

This campus, Rutgers University, was chosen as the focus of this study because it has gone beyond merely including "sexual orientation" in its non-discrimination policies, responding with displeasure to homophobic incidents, or offering a course on gay studies. Of Rutgers University, Huntly Collins (1989) in an article in the Philadelphia Inquirer, states, "One of the most sweeping reform efforts is underway at Rutgers University, where Edward J. Bloustein the school's president, has set up a thirty-three, member committee to seek ways to improve campus life for gay students, faculty members, and staff" (p. 1).

This qualitative case study examines the processes of dealing with gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns at Rutgers University to "describe and explain the world as those in the world interpret it" (Merriam, 1988, p. 170). More specifically this case study will seek answers to the following questions:

- 1) What has Rutgers University done, what changes have been made to address the problems of heterosexism and to develop a more multicultural campus with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual people?
- 2) To what do the advocates of change on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns at Rutgers attribute these actions? or How did these changes come about?

The field of organizational development (OD) is the field that has traditionally dealt with issues of intentional organizational change. The emerging field of multicultural organizational development (MCOD) deals with changes of a multicultural nature within groups and organizations. Both will provide a useful point of departure for this study. Michael McGill (1977) defines organizational development as "a conscious, planned process of developing an organization's capabilities so that it can attain and sustain an optimum level of performance as measured by efficiency, effectiveness, and health... Operationally, OD is a normative process of addressing the questions: 'Where are we?' 'Where do we want to be?' 'How do we get from where we are to where we want to be?'

(p. 3)" Organizational development theory sensitizes us to the need for comprehensive, systemic, consciously planned change efforts.

While many OD practitioners may be concerned with multicultural issues, a review of the current literature and practice of OD suggests that multicultural issues are not a central concern for OD. Hardly any literature exists on gay, lesbian and bisexual concerns or the issue of heterosexism in organizations. When we narrow the focus still further, to the particular organization of colleges and universities we find still less. Some work, both of a theoretical and practical nature, has looked at the issue of racism on campus and on how to develop a more multicultural campus with respect to race. This work on issues of race will provide another important point of departure for looking at the issue of heterosexism on campus and the question of how to develop a more multicultural campus with respect to sexual orientation.

Definitions of Terms

Bisexual- Bisexual refers to both men and women whose sexual orientation is toward both men and women.

Coming out- Coming out refers to the process of self identification as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, as well as the process of identifying to others thus being increasingly visible as a gay, lesbian, or bisexual person.

Gay- Gay is the preferred term for describing men whose primary sexual orientation is toward other men. It is the term used in this study.

Heterosexism- The oppression of lesbians, bisexuals, gay men, and anyone not clearly identified as heterosexual on an individual, institutional or cultural basis whether deliberate or unintentional, is heterosexism (Harro, 1983b; Weinberg, 1972).

Heterosexism is the the system by which heterosexuality is assumed to be the only acceptable and viable life option (Blumenfeld and Raymond, 1988)

Homophobia- This term has often been used interchangeably with heterosexism to refer to the oppression of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. More precisely, homophobia refers to fear, dislike, or hatred of homosexuals or homosexuality in oneself or in others. Most generally fear or hatred of anything that violates traditional sex-role norms is homophobia (Harro, 1983b; Weinberg, 1972; Blumenfeld and Raymond, 1988).

Homosexuality- Homosexuality is a clinical term used to describe people whose primary sexual orientation is toward members of their same gender.

In the closet- This term refers to the state of keeping one's gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity hidden. The opposite of "being out," which logically follows "coming out."

Lesbian- Lesbian is the preferred term for describing women whose primary sexual orientation is toward other women. It is the term used in this study.

Organizational development (OD)- Refers to the practice and process of planned or intentional organizational change to improve the functioning of an organization both on a human satisfaction and organizational efficiency level.

Multicultural organizational development (MCOD)- Refers to the process of organizations moving from their present stage of development to become fully multicultural organizations. MCOD makes use of OD technology and principles to help eliminate or diminish the negative impact of an organization's monocultural characteristics and to develop and strengthen the multicultural characteristics of each stage.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The literature included in this review covers three broad areas. The social justice concern of heterosexism is the first area considered. The history of gay and lesbian oppression and the current manifestations of heterosexism provide the context for the narrower focus of heterosexism on campuses in the present. The second and third areas provide the theoretical context and conceptual underpinnings for the study. The field of organizational development, the newer and smaller field of multicultural organizational development, more specifically organizational development within higher education will be considered, along with models of campus responses to racism and attempts to enhance racial diversity will be the second focus. Finally, a brief review of the literature on planned change, and various frameworks for understanding the variety of strategies for change will be included.

Oppression of Lesbians and Gays

If you are not personally free to be yourself in that most important of all human activities---the expression of love---
than life itself loses its meaning (Harvey Milk).

Lesbians and gay men have been the targets of oppression for a long time. From the witch burnings of the Middle Ages, through the extermination camps of the Nazi Holocaust, through the McCarthy dominated 1950's, to the gay bashing of today, gay men and lesbians have been consistently and violently oppressed (Blumenfeld and Raymond, 1988).

Prejudiced attitudes towards gays and lesbians backed by social power create heterosexism, the oppression of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Heterosexism does not exist in isolation: it shares many characteristics with other forms of oppression (racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and anti- Semitism*). In many societies there are groups of

people who are denied access to the rights and privileges enjoyed by others because of some physical, biological, social, or other trait. Those who are denied access are referred to as minorities or oppressed groups. These out-groups receive a variety of negative treatment, ranging from negative beliefs or attitudes (expressed or not), to exclusion, to denial of civil rights and legal protections, to overt acts of harassment and physical violence.

As with other forms of oppression, the manifestations of heterosexism may be individual, institutional, or cultural. We are socialized into the heterosexist norms and values of our culture as we are into other oppressive norms and values. In terms of individual attitudes a 1983 Newsweek magazine poll estimated that 66% of the U.S. population feel that homosexuality is an unacceptable lifestyle. Homosexuals are considerably more disliked by the U.S. public than ex-convicts, ex-mental patients, gamblers, and alcoholics, according to Simmons (1969), in Deviants . There is a continuum of individual anti-gay behaviors that starts with telling anti-gay jokes or using derogatory words such as "faggot" or "dyke" and goes to more violent forms such as "gay bashing" or "queer bashing."

Social institutions (legal system, education, language, business, religion, professions, customs) perpetuate, reinforce, and legitimize these prejudices. Blumenfeld and Raymond (1988) quoting Knowles and Prewitt's discussion of institutionalized racism graphically convey this point about institutions. "They can for example: '...Reward by providing career opportunities for some people and foreclosing them on others, They reward as well by the ways social goods and services are distributed--by deciding who receives training and skills, medical care, formal education, political influence, moral support and self-respect, productive employment, fair treatment by the law, decent housing, self-confidence, and the promise of a secure future for self and children'" (p. 220).

On an institutional level gay men and lesbians are discriminated against legally--both through so called "sodomy laws" making same-sex sexual activity between two

consenting adults in the privacy of their home illegal in many states, and because gays and lesbians remain one of the few social groups with no civil rights. Therefore gays and lesbians are fired, not promoted, not hired, and they are refused housing and accommodations because of their sexual orientation. Often gay men and lesbians cannot adopt children or become foster parents. In addition, lesbian and gay parents lose custody of their children. Gay men and lesbian are often denied the right to visit their partners in hospitals and cannot take bereavement leaves from their jobs when a life partner dies. Gays and lesbians are banned from enlisting in the military and excluded from many forms of religious life. Many medical practitioners are insensitive to the health concerns of gays and lesbians, and money for AIDS research (a disease which disproportionately affects gay men) is pitifully low. Although the American Psychological Association took homosexuality off its official list of disorders in 1973, many in the mental health profession still believe that homosexuality is a sickness and try to "convert" gays and lesbians sometimes through such tortuous "treatments" as shock treatment and lobotomies. (Adam, 1978, p. 37).

Perhaps the most insidious forms of heterosexism are the many cultural norms and codes of behavior which, while not written into law, still perpetuate and legitimize oppression. Tolerance and acceptance of gays and lesbians as long as they're not "blatant," rather than real appreciation of difference is one way gay and lesbian people are discriminated against. Additionally, heavy religious (gays are sinners), legal (gays are criminals), and psychological (gays are sick) stigmas powerfully influence how gays and lesbians are treated. Homophobia, (fear and hatred of gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals, as well as discomfort with non-traditional sex-roles), is one major root of heterosexism. In referring to homophobic sentiments, sociologist Martin Levine (1986) concludes, "As public opinion polls and social surveys repeatedly note, these feelings are fairly widespread in our society. As a result, many Americans regard lesbians and gay men with hostility and scorn. These feelings, in turn, have been incorporated into the program and practices of our key institu-

tions. Our legislatures, schools, and churches (sic) consequently perpetuate and reinforce anti-homosexual sentiments, seriously reducing the life chances of homosexual persons” (p. 1-2). Finally, the invisibility of gay and lesbian people in our history and culture perpetuates heterosexism by allowing a variety of myths and stereotypes to remain unchallenged. The famous sexologist Evelyn Hooker said, "I frequently think about the positive contributions that homosexuals make to society. Our democratic system believes strongly in pluralism. In a pluralistic society, individuals and minorities are valued highly. I believe that the gay minority is the last minority to finally begin receiving the recognition it deserves for the many creative contributions it makes" (Berzon, 1979, p. vi).

Characteristics of Heterosexism

Heterosexism shares many dynamics in common with other forms of oppression. These common features include the following: *a dominant/subordinate structure* with the dominant social group having relatively more social power and receiving greater benefits and privileges while the subordinate group has less access to these benefits and privileges; the use of *stereotyping* of the subordinate group by the dominant group; *a cycle of socialization* whereby both members of dominant and subordinate social groups are taught their prescribed roles; *manifestations* of oppression occur *at different levels* (individual, institutional, cultural) and can be attitudes or behaviors that are either conscious/intentional or unconscious/unintentional; *a defined norm*, (a standard of rightness defined by the dominant social group) in relation to which all social groups are judged as other, deviant, inferior, marginal, or not "right"; the dominant social group's privileged position of power and control requires *the use of violence and the threat of violence*; *the existence*, everyday life and the achievements of the subordinate social group are *kept invisible*; and *the presentation of false information* or myths through the distortion of events or selective presentation of information. (Adam, 1978; Friere, 1968; Goldenberg, 1978; Memmi, 1965; Miller, 1976)

Each form of oppression is also unique. While mentioned above, some of the features about heterosexism that deserve particular attention include the following: the question of origin, the power of stigmas, alienation and homophobia (Harro, 1983b).

The question of how one becomes a member of the social group, gay, lesbian and bisexual is unique to heterosexism. No one questions how someone becomes a female, Jewish, old, Asian, etc. Many educators concerned with teaching about heterosexism think, as does Harro (1983b), that this question of origin, "grows out of the need to know the cause of homosexuality in order to cure it or prevent it...asking the question of origin in this way frames and defines homosexuality as a problem or disease... " (p. 54). Perhaps a better question is "What determines sexual orientation?" The factors that determine sexual orientation are complex. To date no research has established the causes of either heterosexuality or homosexuality... Although the causes are not known, many researchers believe that one's basic sexual orientation is established at a very early age. While these primary affectional inclinations may not be recognized for many years, once established, they tend not to change substantially. (Blumenfeld and Raymond, 1988). This understanding also helps to view gay, lesbian, and bisexual identity as an orientation rather than a choice or preference.

Stigma is another feature of heterosexism. According to the Macmillan Contemporary Dictionary (1979), stigma is defined as a "mark or token of shame, infamy, or disgrace, especially indicating a defect or abnormality." While historically stigma has been part of other forms of oppression, many of those stigmas have now lost much of their power. In Homosexuality, A History, Vern Bullough (1979) points out that the issues of stigma and invisibility are more pronounced for homosexuals as a social group than for other groups like women, Blacks, or Jews (p. 64). Sanctions from major institutions such as the law, religion and psychology are powerful image-shaping forces both for the dominant social group and the social group targeted by the sanctions. The impact on the behavior of stigmatized social groups is enormous and can lead to behaviors such as,

"succumbing to shame, attempting to correct or change, remaining hidden or covering up, joining other outcasts in organized groups, and beginning to hate themselves" (Bullough, 1979, p. 79).

Legal stigma gives rise to the myth that gays, lesbians, and bisexuals are criminals or that it is illegal to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual. This is not true, there is no law anywhere in the U.S. making gayness illegal. As previously noted, the legal system does oppress gays primarily in two ways through persecution and lack of protection. Sodomy laws currently exist in twenty-five states. These laws make some sexual practices illegal. These sexual practices are not unique to gays, lesbians, or bisexuals; however these laws are only used against gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Many states have repealed these sodomy laws and more may decide to decriminalize private sexuality between consenting adults in the future. The other form of legal oppression is through lack of protection. In only two states, Wisconsin and Massachusetts, is sexual orientation included in civil rights statutes. In all other places gays, lesbians, and bisexuals who are the targets of discrimination have no legal recourse.

Psychological stigma is the force behind the myth that gays, lesbians, and bisexuals are sick, ill, disturbed, abnormal, or emotionally immature. Again these myths are just that. In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association removed "homosexuality" from its list of illnesses or disorders. Although there is no factual basis for viewing gayness as pathological, this perspective persists in our society at large as well as within the mental health profession. The persistence of this perspective may be related to the dynamic, present in all oppressions, where a norm is defined by the dominant group in relation to which all other social groups are judged as other, deviant, inferior, marginal, or not "right." Psychological stigmas against other groups have faded in intensity over time, while those against gays, lesbians, and bisexuals still operate with much force.

Religious stigma underlies the viewpoint that gays, lesbians, and bisexuals are immoral sinners or unnatural. This stigma may be the most difficult to deal with because

religious issues are, by definition, matters of faith and are very personal and emotional. What is defined as sin differs from religion to religion and is determined by the norms and needs of a society at a given historical time. (Altman, 1971). However, many religious traditions have taught in the past, and some continue to teach that homosexuality is immoral. These teachings are based primarily on a few isolated passages from the Bible. Biblical passages taken out of context have long been used to support such things as slavery, the inferior status of women, and the persecution of religious minorities. Other activities listed in the same biblical passages that the Bible condemns, such as wearing cotton and linen together or mixing milk with meat, are viewed as sins by only a small number of fundamentalists. Individuals who break these injunctions are typically not sanctioned in the slightest. Most people do not even know these injunctions. The injunctions against homosexual behavior are treated differently and much more severely than other injunctions. The biblical imperative does not warrant this differential treatment, so it is likely that some other force is at work. Boswell (1980) underscores this point, he says,

Careful analysis can almost always differentiate between conscientious application of religious ethics and the use of religious precepts as justification for personal animosity or prejudice. If religious structures are used to justify oppression by people who regularly disregard precepts of equal gravity from the same moral code, or if prohibitions which restrain a disliked minority are upheld in their most literal sense as absolutely inviolable while comparable precepts affecting the majority are relaxed or reinterpreted, one must suspect something other than religious belief as the motivating cause of the oppression (p. 7).

The question of what is "natural" also is connected to religious stigma. Responding to this question depends upon what is meant by "natural." Webster's New World Dictionary (1979) defines "natural" in the following ways: " 1) of our dealing with nature; 2) produced or existing in nature, not artificial; 3) innate, not acquired; 4) true to nature, lifelike; 5) normal (a natural result); 6) free from affectation at ease." Most of these definitions have to do with whether or not the phenomenon exists in nature or is human made. Since homosexual behavior has been found in almost all animal species and human

cultures it fulfills these definitions. The definition of "natural" as "normal" is problematic. One must ask the question "normal" according to whom? Each culture of society defines what is "natural" or "normal" to fit its own context, and these definitions differ. Historians tell us that homosexuality has existed since the earliest of human societies. Anthropologists report that lesbians and gay men have been part of every culture. Moreover, in many cultures bisexuality is the norm, and in some societies homosexuality is very common. Lesbians and gay men are represented in every socioeconomic class, educational level, and race. It is often said that homosexual behavior is not natural because the purpose of sex is reproduction. In addition to the fact that most heterosexual sexual encounters are not intended to produce children, homosexual relationships, like heterosexual relationships, consist of much more than just sexual encounters. Homosexual identity often involves both an emotional commitment to another person of the the same gender and membership in a community. According to most definitions of "natural," gayness can be considered natural. What is "normal" depends upon which social group is in control. We have seen earlier that a dynamic common to all oppressions comes into play here--the norm is defined by the dominant social group. Members of the subordinate group are blamed for not being "normal" although they are defined as outsiders to the norm by the same group who blames them. This kind of circular reasoning is difficult to contradict.

Gay and Lesbian Activism and Conservative Reaction

Just as heterosexism shares many of the same dynamics as other forms of oppression one can find many parallels in the struggles against these forms of oppression. Following the powerful example of the Black civil rights and Black power movements, the women's liberation movement, the poor people's movement, and the student's rights movement the contemporary gay and lesbian liberation movement erupted following in the wake of the June 1969, Stonewall riots in New York City.

In the twenty years since Stonewall, the gay and lesbian liberation movement has mushroomed. There has been a proliferation of articles, books, newspapers, cultural activities, gay and lesbian pride marches and celebrations, bookstores and organizations. National organizations include the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Fund for Human Dignity, the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, and the National Federation of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays. Local organizations include, Face to Face: A Gay and Lesbian Speakers Bureau, Boston Area Gay and Lesbian Youth, Gay and Lesbian Educators (GALE), and the Massachusetts Gay and Lesbian Political Caucus. There are professional caucuses such as the American Library Association Gay Task Force and the Association of Gay Psychologists. The number of visible gay, lesbian, and bisexual people of every race, ethnic group, age, religion, class, geographic location, and profession, and their successes in winning local gay rights ordinances, and holding national civil rights demonstrations are a powerful testament to the strength of gay and lesbian activism.

Lesbian and gay people took their place alongside other social groups (Blacks, Latino/as, Asians, Native Americans, women, old people, young people, poor and working people, Jews, and people with disabilities) struggling against discrimination and for liberation. As each of these groups has organized and asserted their rights, dominant conservative forces fearing a threat to their power and privilege have organized in reaction. In No Turning Back: Lesbian and Gay Liberation in the '80's, Goodman et. al. (1983) make this point, "When a group stands up for itself and demands change, there is nearly always another group which mobilizes to reassert the status quo" (p. 1). The Lesbian and Gay movement has seen many manifestations of this reactionary backlash in the form of Anita Bryant's Save Our Children campaign, John Brigg's Proposition 6, and Paul Cameron's Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality, and in calls for internment camps for homosexuals and castration for gay men.

A noted gay historian John D'Emilio (1983) notes the impressiveness of the successes of the gay and lesbian liberation movement against the back-drop of conservatism and reactionary backlash. He says,

When one considers that the political climate for most of the last twenty years has been conservative, and that this new conservatism has taken shape largely through an appeal to "traditional" notions of family, sexuality, and gender roles, the successes of the gay movement appear rather impressive. Half the states have repealed their sodomy laws. Many of the nation's largest cities have enacted some form of gay civil rights ordinance, and a number of states are seriously debating the issue...(p. 16).

The Campus Situation

The campuses of our country are microcosms of the larger society and what is happening on campus mirrors what is happening elsewhere. Therefore, in attempting to understand the issues of heterosexism and homophobia currently on campuses, it is important to consider them in this larger social context. As noted, two social forces seem to dominate that context-- gay and lesbian activism and conservative backlash.

The development of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students organizations in the last 20 years has brought the issue of gay and lesbian liberation onto the American campus. According to a Philadelphia Inquirer article, "Since 1968, when the first gay student group formed at Columbia University, the number of gay and lesbian student organizations on college campuses has grown to more than 400" (Collins, 1989, p.1). John D'Emilio (1983) further notes, "Because the birth of gay liberation was so closely tied to the social movements of the 1960's, student groups have been part of the gay political and social landscape from the beginning" (p.16).

At a 1985 ACPA Conference presentation, Smart and Sutehall, reflecting on the situation for gays and lesbians, state, "They are the last significant minority to be denied civil rights and they are becoming increasingly aggressive in their pursuit of those rights. The gay rights movement that was born in the sixties at Stonewall, is assuming a new

seriousness in the 80's in the midst of a major health crisis that is redefining gay life. This new seriousness is having an ever greater impact on our college and university campuses" (p. 4). William Stanley (1984) concludes, "In the '80's, an era of less student activism than the '60's and '70's, gay organizations are often the most visible and active groups on campus" (p. 397). It is clear that colleges and universities are one arena in which the struggle for gay and lesbian liberation is being waged.

A 1984 article in the Philadelphia Inquirer entitled, "Gay Movement Collides with New Campus Conservatism," highlights the two forces of gay and lesbian liberation and right-wing reaction. It states "Once members of a silent, closeted minority, gay students in the '80's are seeking increased political power and expanded rights. And they are doing so at a time when the mood on college campuses across the country has shifted from a liberal to a distinctly conservative bias..." Hastings and Hoge (1986) reporting on a 1984, religious attitudes of college students survey conclude that a, "return to the fifties is occurring..." (p. 376). Huntly Collins (1989) in a Philadelphia Inquirer article, entitled "Gay Students a Stronger Force But a Larger Target," reaches a similar conclusion to the Inquirer article five years earlier. She writes, "We are entering a period where gay and lesbian students are becoming more visible and vocal. And so are their opponents" (p.1).

Not only are gay and lesbian students increasingly vocal about their concerns, but the heterosexual majority on campuses today are pointing to heterosexism as a major problem. Jane Low, in August of 1988, published results of her research on undergraduate perceptions of the social environment of the University of California at Davis. She reported that students, "...overall rate intolerance of homosexuality as a more serious problem for Davis students than racial intolerance" (p. i.).

Students' Attitudes Toward Gays and Lesbians

Evidence shows that public attitudes toward homosexuality are generally negative (Levitt & Klassen, 1974) and that gays and lesbians are the objects of widespread dislike

(Storms, 1978). This sentiment found in the general adult population is replicated in college students attitudes. Crull and Bruton (1979) in their research on social distance toward minority groups among college students found, that among college students, tolerance for "out groups" has decreased and that, "homosexuals received the highest social distance scores of any of the groups studied" (p. 57). Nyberg and Alston (1977) found that for a majority of college students, homosexuality was wrong. Laner and Laner (1980) reported that college students ranked both male and female heterosexuals higher on a scale of likableness than homosexuals. Goodwin and Roscoe (1988) studying student acceptance of homosexuality, at a large midwestern university, found, "...a plurality were highly nonaccepting because 45% of the respondents fell into the least accepting quadrant, and only 5% fell into the most accepting quadrant" (p. 219).

Sociologists (Levine, 1986; Adam, 1978 & 1987) and the psychologist Weinberg (1972) as well as lesbian and gay activists speculate that these kind of homophobic attitudes foster aggressive acts against lesbians and gay men.

Homophobic Harassment and Violence on Campus

One of the most visible, shocking, and better researched manifestations of heterosexism on campus is that of homophobic harassment and violence. Studies of homophobic harassment have been conducted by researchers, gay and lesbian students, professors, as well as by task forces commissioned by university administrators. Survey research has been conducted at schools including the following: Cornell University, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Rutgers University, Vassar College, Yale University, Penn State, Trinity College, and Northeastern University. The result of this research bears witness to the rising incidence of prejudice and violence against gays and lesbians on campuses nationwide. In fact Evan Howard (1987), a campus minister at the University of Chicago calls gays and lesbians, "...the latest American scapegoat" (p. 626).

A few of the most recent campus victimization surveys reveal disturbingly high rates of gay and lesbian victimization. One of the first such studies, conducted at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (Yeskel, 1985) revealed that 45% of students said they were verbally harassed, 21% were physically confronted or assaulted, 29% were threatened with exposure of their sexual orientation, and an overwhelming 86% reported seeing anti-gay graffiti on campus. At Yale University (Herek, 1986), 65% of students reported being verbally harassed, 25% were threatened with physical violence, 25% were followed or chased, 6% were physically assaulted, 57% said they feared for their safety and 90% said they had not reported at least one homophobic incident. Rutgers (Cavin, 1987) tells a similar story, 55% of students had been targets of verbal harassment, 90% had overheard anti-gay remarks, 12% had objects thrown at them, 86% anticipate future victimization, and 88% did not report at least one homophobic incident. Finally at Penn State (D'Augelli, 1987) 72% had received verbal harassment, 98% overheard anti-gay remarks, 16% had property vandalized, 22% were followed or chased, 93% anticipate future victimization, and 93% had not reported at least one homophobic incident. D'Augelli concluded that there were "...higher rates of victimization for gays than for other minority groups" (Freiberg, 1989, p. 8). Jan Sherrill, Director of the Center for the Study and Prevention of Campus Violence states violence against gays and lesbians, "is probably the most underreported violence that occurs on campuses" (Collins, 1989, p. 1).

Additionally NGLTF's Anti-Gay Violence, Victimization, and Defamation Report (1988) states, "...the apparent growth of anti-gay and other bias incidents in the college setting prompts a special focus on campus victimization in this year's report" (p. 13). In 1988, 34 lesbian and gay student groups reported, to the NGLTF, a total of 1,411 incidents. Of these incidents most were reports of verbal harassment, followed in order by, vandalism, threats or menacing behavior, and assaults. Approximately one third of the student groups reporting to the NGLTF believed anti-gay harassment and violence had increased in 1988 over 1987.

All research on homophobic harassment on campus points to the same sad conclusion. Gay and lesbian students are receiving a significant amount of homophobic harassment ranging in intensity from homophobic slurs to physical violence, and that a majority of these homophobic incidents go unreported.

Gay and Lesbian Identity Development Issues

The unique developmental issues facing gay, lesbian, and bisexual college students is another important perspective to consider. The college years represent a time of tremendous developmental importance. Psychologists believe issues of self-direction, autonomy, and identity figure prominently at this stage (Erikson, 1964; Kegan, 1982). Dick Scott (1988) states, "Lesbians and gay men face a series of developmental tasks which are either unique to them or which have different parameters from similar tasks faced by non-gay people...lesbians and gay men will face some or all of these tasks during the college years" (p. 22). Most colleges and universities have not even begun to consider the unique developmental tasks and needs of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students. However Scott (1988) proposes such a proactive stance when he says, "professionals who work with students need to understand these tasks and should develop the appropriate skills, policies, and programs to help students" (p. 22).

One significant and unique issue gay and lesbian students must grapple with is development of a stigmatized sexual identity. For a gay man or a lesbian recognition of sexual identity, "involves recognizing oneself as different from others. Recognition of this difference can be a traumatic experience" (Scott, p. 23). Because gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals growing up in a heterosexist society internalize negative attitudes toward homosexuality, a key developmental task is to develop a positive self concept. Feeling isolated and alienated from the dominant heterosexual culture on campus is another concern. Fear of and the actuality of rejection by friends, roommates, and even parents must be negotiated. Numerous gay, lesbian, or bisexual students are disowned by parents after

"coming out." They are left, usually without adequate support systems, to deal with unexpected financial independence and tuition bills in addition to their family trauma. Lesbians, bisexuals, and gay men also must learn how to react to and handle the unfortunate realities of homophobic harassment and discrimination.

A healthy resolution of this issue involves the process of "coming out." Scott defines "coming out" as a "...process which may span several years. It involves not only accepting one's own homosexual inclinations, but also publicly acknowledging them to others and living a life based on those inclinations" (p. 23).

In considering the situation of the gay, lesbian, or bisexual college student John Westfield and Judy Winkelpleck (1983) state, "...many university personnel do not understand the unique situation of gay colleges students. Gay students are often forced to deal with issues such as sharing with parents, discrimination in residence halls, and possible future discrimination" (p. 2). Almost every student service could usefully consider the special concerns of lesbians and gay men. For example, does the career placement office know which employers have clauses insuring non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation? Does the financial aid office make provisions for gay students who may be suddenly disowned by parents and financially cut off mid-semester?

Visibility and Health

Many psychologists, sociologists, social workers, as well as gay, lesbian, and bisexual activists have proclaimed that gay, lesbian, and bisexual visibility is an essential, healthy and forward moving agenda for the heterosexual community, as well as gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Psychologist Betty Berzon (1979) says, "...the ability to be self disclosing is especially important to the mental health of gay people who have been subjected to long-standing societal directives that say: be silent, be invisible. The repressive effect on one's ability to communicate about self has to be a strong one. In general, the ability to make one's self known to others is critical to the successful

establishment of relationships with other people...it is essential to the growth of intimacy" (p. 10). "Gay liberation goes beyond not being discriminated against at work, or in obtaining housing or medical services. It is the need by gay people to have their lives and life-styles respected as a normal and natural alternative" (Smart and Stutehall, 1985, p. 10). John D'Emilio (1990) acknowledges that while the costs of visibility may be high the alternative is also quite damaging. He remarks,

the fear that compels most gay people to remain hidden exacts a price of its own. It leads us to doubt our own self-worth and dignity. It encourages us to remain isolated and detached from our colleagues and peers, as too much familiarity can lead to exposure. And it often results in habitual patterns of mistrust and defensiveness because anyone, potentially, may cause our downfall. Hence, speaking about gay oppression involves not only addressing injustice in the abstract but also acknowledging the emotional toll it leaves on particular individuals and the institutions of which they are a part (p. 18).

In addition to the personal benefits of coming out, Berzon (1979) makes the political benefits quite clear. She states, "The changes that are needed in social policies and in laws in order to improve the quality of life for gay people will come only when there is a political and economic gay constituency that is visible and identifiable" (p. 11).

Academic Issues and Issues for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Faculty

The literature in this area consists primarily of personal accounts by gay and lesbian faculty members. They discuss issues of coming out in the classroom, teaching lesbian and gay studies, and tenure struggles. One article, a "Report of the American Sociological Association's Task Group on Homosexuality," (1980) provided a more systematic account. The Task Group surveyed 2,000 heads and chairs of graduate and undergraduate sociology departments in the United States in 1980. They attempted to assess the discrimination faced by gay and lesbian sociologists. The main findings of their investigation are as follows:

- 1) Sixty-three percent of sociology department heads or chairs reported that hiring a known homosexual would

produce serious problems or that it just couldn't be done. The proportion of chairs who perceive barriers in promoting known homosexuals also is high, 48 percent for promoting known homosexuals, 65 percent for promoting activists. (p. 164)

2) It seems probable that a large majority of gay and lesbian sociologists feel compelled to remain "closeted" within their departments. Such decisions undoubtedly affect profoundly the availability of course content dealing with homosexuality and research on this topic (p. 164).

3) The fear of stigma diverts sociologists, heterosexual and homosexual alike, from doing research on homosexuality (p. 164).

4) The stigma among sociologists probably inhibits the number of professionally appropriate courses that otherwise would be offered on the topic. Results showed only 2% of sociology departments reporting listed a full course on homosexuality (p. 165).

The report concluded that open gay and lesbian sociologists run considerable risk of experiencing discrimination in hiring and promotions. Consequently, most gay and lesbian sociologists remaining "closeted" with their colleagues. This in turn stops them from displaying interest in, and engaging in, research, advising, or teaching courses on the topic of homosexuality.

In reviewing the state of gay liberation on campuses John D'Emilio (1990) observes,

Faculty members, too, have organized. Initially forming separate organizations, such as the Gay Academic Union, they have increasingly turned to their professional associations as venues for action. Most social science and humanities disciplines now have lesbian and gay caucuses that publish newsletters, review current literature, and sponsor well-attended sessions at annual meetings (p.17).

While gay, lesbian, and bisexual faculty are certainly the targets of homophobic discrimination they have begun to organize themselves for mutual support both personally and professionally.

Institutional Responses to Heterosexism on Campus

In an article entitled, "The Campus Environment for Gay and Lesbian Life," John D'Emilio (1990) summarizes the role of higher education for lesbians and gays. He asserts,

For gay men and lesbians, the past is a history of privacy invaded, of an academy that enforced, maintained, and reproduced a particular moral order--a moral order aggressively antagonistic toward homosexual expression (p. 16)

However, in general, little material about how colleges and universities have responded to the problems of heterosexism on campus are available through the typical library and computer searches. The journals from the fields of sociology, psychology, education, organizational development, higher education administration, social work contained few articles on the subject of gay and lesbian issues in higher education. The few available sources, on gays and lesbians on campus, focused on detailing the problems rather than suggesting possible solutions.

Most of the information contained in this section, therefore, comes from telephone conversations and personal correspondence with gay, lesbian, and bisexual leaders on various campuses as well as staff people at national gay, lesbian, and bisexual organizations including: the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), the Fund for Human Dignity, Gay and Lesbian Equity in Academia (GLEAM), and the Campaign to End Homophobia.

In the last few years, several gay, lesbian, and bisexual organizations have begun to address heterosexism on campuses. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, a leading civil rights organization, considered the situation on colleges and universities critical enough to begin a Campus Project in 1988. NGLTF publishes a "Student Organization Packet" for gay and lesbian students as well as a regular "Campus Project" newsletter which features issues such as, AIDS Education or gay and lesbian film resources. The Fund for Human Dignity and the Campaign to End Homophobia have both sponsored con-

ferences for activists and anti-homophobia educators in the last two years. Both of these conferences featured a track focusing on higher education. The Campaign to End Homophobia supports a resource directory and a newsletter, "Empathy." The gay press has also started to focus in this area. The weekly magazine "The Advocate," whose audience is primarily gay men, features a regular column, "Out on Campus," which offers brief news items from different campuses across the country.

Additionally, in the last few years, some of the professional organizations relevant to higher education professionals, such as the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), and the Association of College Personnel Administrators (ACPA), feature gay and lesbian task forces or caucuses. Some of these groups publish caucus or task force newsletters. Information about how institutions of higher education are responding to heterosexism is communicated primarily through such informal channels as newsletters or conference presentations, as well as networks of friends and colleagues.

While the American Council on Education (ACE) supports an Office of Minority Concerns and an Office of Women in Higher Education, there is no ACE Office on Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns. Although few and far between, those campuses that are actually aware of and concerned about the problems of heterosexism at their schools are on their own to struggle toward adequate responses.

The discipline that has traditionally provided some measure of assistance to organizations as they attempt to deal with their problems and change, has been the field of organizational development. While OD's track record on dealing with heterosexism is for the most part nonexistent, OD has built a foundation of experience dealing with the similar concerns of racism and sexism. Since most college or university administrators are not trained as managers, the potential benefit of OD's accumulated wisdom on dealing with social issues is often lost.

The next section of this literature review briefly summarize OD's relationship to social issues. The particular issues that arise in practicing OD at a college or university will

be clarified. Finally, the related concern--reponses to racism on campuses will be briefly explored.

Organizational Development

To understand in what ways the field of OD can support and enrich our understanding of how colleges and universities might deal with the concerns of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals it is helpful, first, to take a brief look at the attention given to issues of social oppression within the field of organizational development during its history.

In an unpublished paper, "Social Oppression and Change in Organizations," Evangelina Holvino (1988) concludes that "Social oppression in organizations is not a central topic in social liberation literature and social liberation is not a central topic in organization development literature, " and that "not enough has been done to bring organization development's philosophy and technology to bear on issues of social oppression and liberation in organizations" (p. 3). While the concern of social oppression within organizations in general, has not been sufficiently addressed, the particular concern of heterosexism within organizations has been even less adequately covered. Still whatever small amount of work has been done in this area can provide a useful starting point for this study.

Organization development is simultaneously a methodology, philosophy, and technology for changing organizations. A brief historical over-view of organizational approaches to change in regard to social oppression, borrowed from Evangelina Holvino's paper, will provide a useful contextual reference.

During the forties and fifties, when the seeds of OD were germinating, many of the pioneers in the field (Benne, Bradford, Gibb, Lippitt, Chein, Cook, and Harding) were hopeful their work would be applied to minority and intergroup relations, community issues and social concerns. The OD approach of this period to social oppression was "...to modify individual perceptions and attitudes by facilitating interpersonal relations among

members of different racial groups, particularly Jews, Blacks, and Whites. Some of this work became known as intergroup relations" (Holvino, 1988, p. 23).

While the sixties brought concerns of social oppression and liberation into the homes of the United States on the nightly news, the field of OD did not substantially alter its approach toward these concerns. At this time the concepts of institutional racism and sexism were being firmly established by sociologists, however "OD practitioners and theorists missed this opportunity and continued to approach social oppression from an individual perspective" (Holvino, 1988, p. 25)

During the seventies a new approach developed. In addition to the individual approaches of previous decades, a systems level approach began. (Holvino, 1988, p. 27). While considerable activity occurred to address social oppression in organizations, it almost exclusively focused on the manifestations of racism and sexism.

As we draw to the close of the eighties numerous articles on multicultural issues can be found. The rise of multinational, corporate, capitalism makes focusing on cross-cultural issues an economic necessity. The rationale of improving the "bottom line" through increased efficiency seems to be the hook most often used by consultants dealing with issues of social oppression in the workplace. Additionally, the concern with gender dynamics and Black-white issues is expanding. Holvino (1988) points out, "In the U.S.A., social oppression change efforts expand to include other racial minorities (Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans), the handicapped (sic), and religious minorities" (p. 37).

Perhaps in the coming decade as change efforts in the social oppression arena expand still further to include gays, lesbians, and bisexuals it will be the task of OD practitioners of the nineties to begin to deal with heterosexism and homophobia in organizations.

Holvino (1988) points out some changes in OD's approaches to social oppression during this forty year time span. They are: (1) "From a moral approach to social oppression to a productivity approach to social oppression" (p. 39); (2) "The approach to

social oppression becomes more integrated with the 'regular business' of organizations" (p. 40); (3) From exclusively individual modes of approaching social oppression to systems approaches to addressing social oppression in organizations" (p. 40); (4) "The change from a 'do good' perspective to a 'power' perspective, and from training as a major intervention for change to a combination of organization change interventions as approaches to change for social equality in organizations" (p. 40).

Amid these changes one reality remains constant, social oppression concerns continue to seem marginal to mainstream OD. However these changes within the field of OD over the last forty years can provide a valuable source of lessons for practitioners of the nineties who want to impact on issues of social oppression within institutions. Even though the OD literature is silent about the social oppression of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, the lessons learned, based on experiences dealing with other forms of oppression -- racism and sexism, can shed light on the little explored issues of heterosexism.

Multicultural Organizational Development

As an outgrowth of the broad field of OD, the field of multicultural organization development (MCOD), which has emerged in this decade, draws from a variety of approaches to dealing with issues of social oppression within the organization. Various names have been given to this work including, "managing diversity, multicultural organization development, Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action, racism, sexism, cross cultural training, and others" (Holvino, 1988, p. 9). The field of MCOD provides a narrower context for situating this present study.

In referring to the MCOD model developed by Jackson and Hardiman (1981) and expanded by Jackson and Holvino (1987), Holvino (1988) states, "I believe the use of the MCOD model can help us (a) increase our understanding of the dynamics of social change in organizations, (b) guide and expand our vision of a socially diverse, non-oppressive organization, (c) expand the change agent's understanding, choice of roles, and strategies

in organization change, and (d) identify critical issues that need to be considered in the process of change towards an agenda for social equality in organizations “ (p. 55).

Many groups and organizations, in response to the demands of people of color, women, Jews, people with disabilities, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people, and poor and working class people now desire to be more multicultural. Some colleges and universities have even included, into their mission statements, visions of being multicultural campuses. This term, along with the related terms of civility, diversity, and pluralism have become part of the rhetoric of the late 1980's. What, however, do these terms mean? Is "multicultural" used the same way on each campus? Are the terms "diverse," "pluralistic," and "multicultural" interchangeable terms? Confusion seems to be the norm.

Various theorists have attempted to diminish this confusion, According to Holvino (1989), Adler (1983) defines a multicultural organization as "...one where more than one culture is represented in the organization, making for cultural diversity, that is, diversity of sociocultural perspectives, world views, lifestyles, social skills, language, management styles, [and] cognitive styles..." The emphasis here is on the existence of diverse groups within the organization. Although no specific social groups are named by Adler, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people could be included within this definition of a multicultural organization.

Love (1985) adds issues of inclusion and power to the mere existence of diversity in her definition. She defines a multicultural organization as one, "...populated by many kinds of people, white as well as black, men as well as women; where the climate supports access and participation of all people in all parts of the organization including positions of authority and centrality; where the climate reflects a value system and organizational way of life supportive of the needs and aspirations for participation and inclusion of people of many groups." By naming only the issues of gender and race, we are left to wonder about the inclusiveness of this definition.

Katz and Miller (1986) are more explicit about equating multiculturalism with gender and race. They define a multicultural organization as "one which values, utilizes, and promotes gender and racial diversity" (p. 100). Elsie Cross (1985) realizes that diversity is a more inclusive term although it is often used synonymously with racial and gender diversity. She states, "Diversity as I use it, is a kind of shibboleth, almost a euphemism; it includes other forms of difference such as age, ethnicity, various handicaps, and sexual preference. But I use the term to imply racism and sexism...[they] are the most pervasive forms of oppression, the most difficult to talk about and to change" (p. 15). While I disagree with Cross' conclusion she does name the definitional confusion and raise the question of which social groups are to be included in dialogue about diversity and multiculturalism, and which social groups are to be left out.

Lynton (1981) describes a multicultural, pluralistic society as one "in which individual and social differences that people want to retain are not merely tolerated by others but are actually valued, whether they be differences rooted in location, ethnic background, sex, color, social station, profession, or whatever" (p. 2). While Lynton's definition is broad, he does not specifically name sexual orientation, again leaving the question of whether gays, lesbians, and bisexuals are to be included in a multicultural, pluralistic society unanswered.

From the field of multicultural education Bob Suzuki adds his perspective to this dialogue and holds out a vision for education. He defines multicultural education as an

educational program to help students appreciate cultural diversity, overcome ethnocentric and prejudicial attitudes, and understand the socio-historical, economic, and psychological factors that have produced the contemporary conditions of ethnic polarization, inequality and alienation. It should also foster their ability to critically analyze and make intelligent decisions about real-life problems and issues through a process of democratic, dialogical inquiry. Finally, it should help them conceptualize and aspire toward a vision of a better society and acquire the necessary knowledge, understandings and skills to enable them to move the society toward greater equality and freedom, the eradication of de-

grading poverty and dehumanizing dependency, and the development of meaningful identity for all people (p. 48).

One wonders why this isn't a vision for all education and why education is not synonymous with multicultural education. Unfortunately once again the question of whether gay, lesbian, and bisexual people are included in this vision of multiculturalism is left ambiguous. Does Suzuki only mean to include ethnic groups in his definition of multicultural? These are the groups that he explicitly mentions, however his concern for a "meaningful identity for all people" certainly is more inclusive.

Jackson and Hardiman (1981) and Jackson and Holvino (1987) have synthesized much of the work in this emerging field. They put forward the most comprehensive and integrated vision of a multicultural organization. They have also developed a diagnostic tool that can be useful in identifying stages that organizations pass through in their journey from being "monocultural" to being "multicultural." Their definition of a multicultural organization includes four key components. First, a multicultural organization reflects the contributions and interests of diverse social and cultural groups in its mission, operations, and product or service delivery. The second point is that a multicultural organization acts on a commitment to the eradication of social oppression in all forms within the organization and being sensitive to the possible violation of the interests of all cultural and social groups whether or not they are represented in the organization. Third, a multicultural organization makes sure that members of diverse social and cultural groups are a part of all levels of the organization, especially in those areas where decisions are made that shape the organization. Finally, a multicultural organization follows through on its broader social responsibility to support efforts to eliminate all forms of social oppression and to expand the concept of multiculturalism. (Jackson and Hardiman, 1981). The stages an organization can move through in this model in the process of moving from being monocultural to being multicultural are: "Exclusionary," "White Male Club," "EEO/Compliance," "Affirmative Action," "Redefining," and "Multicultural."

Jackson and Hardiman (1981) use their model to analyze the issues of sexism and racism in organizations. They make no reference to other forms of oppression. Jackson and Holvino (1987) build on the original model developed by Jackson and Hardiman (1981). They say an organization at the Affirmative Action stage expands its concept of who is oppressed beyond Blacks and women, and begins to think of diversity as including, "the disabled, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans, the elderly, and other socially oppressed groups" (p. 90). While it is clear that Jackson and Holvino (1987) believe that "other socially oppressed groups" are to be included within a multicultural organization, they too, do not mention by name gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. They do, however, state that an organization at the White Male Club stage discriminates against members of groups other than women and people of color e.g. "Jews, disabled, elderly, homosexuals [sic] and members of lower [sic] classes" (p. 89). However their naming of the second stage of this model, "White Male Club," is a testament to the fact that they, too, view the issues of race and gender as primary.

Jackson has also attempted to articulate categories for understanding the definitional confusion in the field. Jackson (1991) draws a distinction between social diversity work and social justice work, and an individual focus vs. a systems focus. Social justice work addresses the power differential and inequalities between people of different social groups, while social diversity work deals with cultural differences. Increased awareness and sensitivity are goals of a focus on individuals, whereas systems change is the outcome of the systems approach. Jackson also describes the practice of multicultural organizational development as involving three interactive components: a system approach, strong leadership, and support activities, all of which are necessary. The system change approach attends to an organizations' mission & values, structure, technology, management style, and culture on issues of social diversity and justice. The development of leadership that can articulate a multicultural agenda and mission is a critical component. Finally, grassroots support activities designed to raise consciousness of the issues, get the agenda

out, and keep the issues alive are critical. When all three of these components are happening around social diversity and social justice concerns, the process can be called multicultural organizational development.

It is clear from this brief review that the emerging field of MCOD like the field of OD doesn't have as a central concern, or even secondary concern, the issue of heterosexism. Most of the theory and practice of the field has been developed based on the experience of working with issues of race and gender within organizations. While this is the history of these fields, there is no reason why this tradition should continue into the future. The theory and practice developed on issues of race and gender can easily be adapted to issues of sexual orientation. Those social change agents who seek to make sure that the oppression of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals within organizations is addressed do not need to recreate the wheel. As organizations grapple with heterosexism and homophobia, perhaps because of the pandemic of AIDS, the field of MCOD will benefit and become more all inclusive.

There are additional motivations for organizations to seriously address heterosexism. There are many theorists who hold that all forms of oppression are connected and interconnected (Adam, 1978; Frye, 1983; Pharr, 1988). Many hold that strategically it is impossible to eliminate one form of oppression in isolation, in order for any oppression to end, all must end. Additionally since each individual has multiple identities, multiple social group memberships, it is difficult to talk about the impact of one form of oppression in isolation or universally. For example heterosexism will impact differently on a white, middle class, able bodied, Christian, lesbian and on a white, middle class, able bodied, Christian, gay man. The lesbian is also oppressed by sexism. A Black, ablebodied, middle class, Christian, lesbian is oppressed by the forces of racism, sexism and heterosexism. It is difficult to sort out which facet of her identity resulted in which experience of oppression. For this woman's liberation, all these manifestation of oppression would need to be eliminated. Suzanne Pharr (1988) sates "There is no

hierarchy of oppressions. Each is terrible and destructive. To eliminate one oppression successfully, a movement has to include work to eliminate them all or else success will always be limited and incomplete" (p. 53).

While it is true that the existence of any oppression, which by definition involves a power over dynamic, can create the opening for other power over relationships based on different social group characteristics; the connection between sexism and heterosexism is more profound. According to Suzanne Pharr (1988) "Sexism, that system by which women are kept subordinate to men, is kept in place by three powerful weapons designed to cause or threaten women with pain and loss...the three are economics, violence, and homophobia" (p. 9). She goes on to add, "Heterosexism and homophobia work together to enforce compulsory heterosexuality and that bastion of patriarchal power, the nuclear family" (p. 17). A lesbian is perceived as not needing a man. This is threatening to male dominance. If a woman steps out of line in this fashion or doesn't conform to the prescribed sex-role norms that benefit men in a sexist society, then she is called a lesbian or "dyke." Because of the strength of heterosexism and homophobia these words have the power to control women, to keep women in line, and to enforce compulsory heterosexuality. Gay men, also, are perceived as a threat to male dominance and control. Pharr (1988) says, "they are seen as betrayers, as traitors who must be punished and eliminated...they are perceived as not being real men, that is, as being identified with women...misogyny gets transferred to gay men with a vengeance and is increased by the fear that their sexual identity and behavior will ring down the entire system of male dominance and compulsory heterosexuality" (p. 18-19). We can see that men, too, are forced to act within rigid sex-role norms to avoid the label "sissy" or "faggot" and all the scorn and violence that accompanies these labels.

We can see how homophobia and heterosexism are part of sexism, how the oppression of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals is inextricably tied to the oppression of women. Organizations that are seriously committed to ending sexism, and organizations

that know the value of women's empowered participation may have to take on working against heterosexism and homophobia in order to succeed in eradicating sexism. While most theorists in the field of OD and MCOD are concerned with the issue of sexism, we have seen that few even mention heterosexism. As the connections between sexism and heterosexism are made clear, the mandate to include gay, lesbian and bisexual concerns within the field of MCOD becomes even stronger.

OD and MCOD on Campus: Factors for Consideration

Most OD and MCOD practice and theory developed out of work in the corporate world. In using OD's philosophy, methodology, and technology it is important, therefore, to consider the particularities of colleges and universities as organizations. (Bonilla, 1989) Grant Ingle (1988) explores one of these unique aspects, he says,

One of the traditional values of a university campus centers on the notion that it is a special place of work and study, in which high standards for civil conduct exceed those required by law, the open exchange of ideas is promoted, and individuals can pursue their work and education without fear of harassment or intimidation. It is likely that general acceptance of this ideal is the basis of public shock and disbelief when racial incidents and other forms of bigotry occur on university campuses. At present, university campuses are often not the special places they once may have been, largely due to difficult but inevitable stresses brought about as they move from monocultural to multicultural settings (p. 1).

Thus one salient factor may be the higher standards toward which colleges and universities strive. John D'Emilio (1990) recognizes this higher expectation, he says, "For reasons that I cannot quite fathom, I still expect the academy to embrace higher standards of civility, decency, and justice than the society around it" (p. 18). Other factors making colleges and universities unique as organizations include, the complexity of multiple governance systems, a high turnover rate for a large segment of the community on a yearly basis, the relatively short "institutional memory," the fact that most college and university administrators are typically amateurs rather than professional managers, the reward systems for faculty (a key segment of the organizational workforce) are not often tied to organizational

involvement and service, the impact of the academic calendar, the tradition of academic freedom and the tenure system which automatically removes a large and powerful segment of the organization from much accountability, the reluctance of many colleges and universities to accept outside help, and finally the fact that colleges and universities may have multiple goals which are not always compatible. (Bonilla, 1989; Ingle, 1989).

These are some of the concerns that an OD practitioner helping to effect change in an academic context must take into account. Organizational development models cannot necessarily be lifted directly from business and industry and applied unaltered to the college and university setting. (Bonilla, 1989).

An article in the International Encyclopaedia of Higher Education entitled, "Processes of Academic Change," further explicates the conditions conducive to creating changes in college and university settings. One condition leading to successful innovation is the device of "parallelism," simply instituting an optional, additional program to the status quo, rather than instituting changes which require the abandonment of accepted ways. The underlying principle here is that the "most successful innovators often give the impression of being conservative" (p. 3375). A second condition leading to success is the adoption of innovations on an experimental basis with the understanding that they will become permanent if they prove themselves. The article stresses that successful academic change is usually framed in terms of "returning the university to its original principals and cherished values..." (p. 3375). Finally, "innovation requires the stimulus of an individual or sometimes a small group as the catalyst and advocate of action. Every organizational change is linked to an individual change; and even if outside circumstances and outside sources of support provide the impetus for innovation, someone within the university must be its champion...this advocate of innovation sparks acceptance and galvanizes support for change...without advocacy, institutional redirection cannot occur" (p. 3374).

Havelock (1971) and Lindquist (1974) have pointed out that many advocates of change mistakenly adopt only one strategy in seeking to garner support from faculty,

administrators, or others. Some rely solely on distributing research findings, believing that the "evidence" will speak for itself and inevitably result in change. Others put their faith in human relations approaches, believing that increased trust and openness will automatically result in change. As the article, "Processes of Academic Change" points out, "All the evidence to date indicates that no single approach to academic innovation is adequate; successful educational change requires effort on several fronts, at various levels, and by many means" (p. 3375).

These principles, conditions, and factors are important to remember in sensitizing us to the factors impinging on campuses' responses to change with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns. As we hypothesize an "ideal" campus response to heterosexism these factors must be taken into consideration. Since no literature exists on OD efforts with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns on the campus, we will draw upon the literature describing such OD efforts with respect to racially excluded groups. Specifically, the practical strategies and models for campus-based interventions to enhance racial diversity will provide a useful foundation for this study.

OD on Campus: The Challenge of Enhancing Racial Diversity

One primary condition for successful organizational development is the perception on the part of individuals in the organization that there is a problem, and further that the benefits of the solution are likely to outweigh its liabilities. The changing racial demographic picture provides a growing impetus for increasing racial diversity. While Affirmative Action statistics are often worse than a decade or two ago, nightly reports of date rape and racist incidents, along with increased student activism, break through the denial systems of increasing numbers of Americans. It is becoming more clear to many students, faculty, staff, and alumni/ae that there is a problem with racism and sexism on campus. With this growing realization has come the potential for greater multicultural change on these two social issues.

Most OD efforts, on campuses as well as in other institutions, have focused on the concerns of race and gender. While these concerns were the focus of some attention in the late 60's and early '70's, these issues remained largely invisible during the early 80's when progress toward these concerns has faltered or reversed. Over the last few years, stimulated by growing numbers of racist incidents on campuses across the country and a changing demographic profile, attention has again turned to the concern of improving racial harmony and increasing racial diversity on campus.

Earlier attempts to deal with racism, improve racial harmony, or increase racial diversity primarily consisted of establishing a new program, a specific reaction to a particular incident, creating a new position, or adding a course. Each isolated attempt, although well-intentioned produced limited results. Organizational development, which is a systems oriented approach to change, could prove to be a useful approach to this long term problem. In fact various campuses have utilized OD to deal with racial issues. They have conducted assessments of their campuses with respect to racial issues and developed comprehensive plans for improving the situation. Smith College, the University of Michigan, and the University of Wisconsin, are three such campuses.

In addition to the many individual campuses currently concerned with racial harmony and diversity, the American Council on Education (ACE) has become more concerned with minority participation in education and in American life. They are concerned that there has been a loss of momentum in efforts to ensure that minority groups are fully represented, welcomed, and involved on campuses. In 1988 ACE published the important report, One Third of A Nation, which called for a rededication by all segments of society to "overcoming the current inertia and removing the remaining barriers to full participation in education and in all other aspects of American life" (p. 5). The American Council on Education is hopeful that institutions of higher education can provide leadership in meeting this challenge.

To enable institutions of higher education to more easily meet the challenge of enhancing racial diversity, the ACE Board commissioned the development of a handbook to provide practical information and suggestions for colleges and universities in taking action. This handbook, Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity was published by ACE in 1989. In the Foreword to this book Judith Eaton, Chair of ACE Board of Directors, implores, "We cannot resign ourselves to anything less than success in creating a truly pluralistic campus. The injustice is too great for a democratic nation to condone; the costs are too high for all citizens" (p. vii). While the focus of this ACE effort is on racial minorities, many of the lessons can apply to a broader definition of pluralism, one that includes gay, lesbian, and bisexual people.

The writers of the ACE Handbook studied those colleges and universities that had been successful in enhancing racial diversity. Although successful strategies varied from campus to campus they found three important, underlying principles: these are leadership, an integrated approach, and institutional change. First, as Judith Eaton points out, "Leadership, from the board of trustees and the president, is essential to deep and lasting change on campus. Without their symbolic and practical support, little enduring progress will occur" (p.viii). Second successful change requires more than a special program initiative here or a "minority" staff person there. "An integrated approach to change, reflecting a vision of the future," is necessary. "Minority participation must be high on everyone's agenda, integral to the mission and the workings of the institution. Pluralism requires energy and purpose" (p.viii). Finally, the third principle of institutional change requires us to, "... examine our assumptions, structures, and priorities. It is not enough to welcome minority individuals. We need to change the culture of our majority institutions so that all members of the community contribute and honor each others differences" (p. viii). These three key principles, critical for enhancing racial diversity, should prove equally critical for enhancing diversity with respect to sexual orientation.

The lack of successful racial diversification on college and university campuses throughout the country clearly demonstrates that hiring a person here or developing a program there, however well implemented, do not produce powerful results. These hard earned lessons about improving racial diversity can be applied to diversification of other social groups. Lesbians, gays, and bisexuals can benefit from these lessons. Colleges and universities that want to improve the situation for gay, lesbian, and bisexual people can use these suggestions for improving racial harmony as a starting point rather than making the same mistakes. Additional important lessons which can be gleaned from Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity can be used as a foundation for work on heterosexism as well. To begin the process, the authors of the ACE Handbook recommend:

- Get broad institutional involvement. Form a broadly representative task force to develop an institution-wide agenda. This task force should have the full support of the president, report directly to the president, and be chaired by a highly respected member of the campus community.
- Assign overall administrative responsibility to one individual. This individual should be someone with the clout and resources to make things happen and hold people accountable. S/he should report directly to the president.
- Take stock of where you are and where you would like to be. Conduct an institutional assessment or audit as the first step in the process of enhancing diversity. Data should be gathered at all levels and from all facets of campus life; historical trends should be included.
- Develop a plan. This plan should serve as a blueprint for action. It should include the following elements:

Leadership statement- A vision for what the institution can be like that is consistent with its overall goals and mission.

Goals- A set of concrete, quantitative and qualitative short-term and long-term goals.

Timetable- Set specific target dates for the implementation of specific goals and monitor progress against this timetable.

Mechanisms for conflict resolution- Be ready for the inevitable conflict that will emerge from any change process. It is important to have intact mechanisms to provide forums for resolution of conflicts.

Monitoring, accountability, and evaluation- Responsibility for each task must be assigned, and overall responsibility given to one person on campus.

These step by step procedures need to be supplemented by successful strategies. The American Council of Education Handbook, also delineates strategic elements that undergird successful efforts. These include:

- *Leadership from the top* demonstrated in practical and symbolic terms.
- *Leadership from the ranks*. Faculty involvement in all phases of institutional assessment, planning, and implementation is crucial. Institutional change is the sum of individual actions.
- *Involvement of minority persons*. Affected groups must be involved in the process.
- *Support of minority networks*. These networks must be supported with recognition and resources.
- *Mentoring for students, faculty, and staff*. An advocate and advisor is critical to insure personal and professional growth.
- *Allocation of sufficient resources*. Enhancing diversity concerns must become part of the regular, on-going institutional planning process.
- *Provision of incentives*. People need encouragement and rewards to change. If necessary, sanctions can be applied to those individuals or units that are uncooperative.
- *Explicit and results-oriented efforts*. Specific outcomes, quantitative and qualitative must be delineated.
- *A good complaint system*. A formal grievance procedure to handle discrimination and harassment is essential.
- *Manageable goals*. Since institutional change is slow, especially in the academy, think big but start small, setting goals that can be reasonably attained. Steady incremental change will have an enduring impact.
- *Periodic reporting* to the president, the board, or the trustees.

Jerry Koch-Gonzalez developed an "Institutional Diversification Assessment" (1989) and an "Institutional Diversification Checklist" (1989) by reviewing a number of campus diversification plans as well as the ACE Handbook. Many of the same elements

found in the ACE Handbook are noted again. The "Institutional Diversification Checklist" includes the following fifteen "generic" items:

- plans and numerical goals
- accountability & responsibility
- effective data base
- financial supports
- personnel evaluations re: AA achievement/support for diversity
- diverse representation at all levels and in all committees
- written and well known policies and procedures
- orientation/training for new people
- education/training targeted to each unit
- rewards/recognition for contributions
- periodic program evaluations
- on-going monitoring systems (standing committees)
- inclusion of affirmative action/multicultural concerns in all material
- conduct codes/grievance procedures
- use of outside consultants

Some of the elements highlighted here that are missing from the ACE suggestions are the use of outside consultants, conducting training/education for each unit and an orientation for new people, and the emphasis on written statements/policies in all campus materials. The "Institutional Assessment" highlights eight categories. Assessment and planning must be undertaken in each of the following arenas:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| • Administration | • Faculty |
| • Staff | • Students |
| • Directions and Policies | • Community Outreach |
| • Curriculum | • Culture & Community-Wide Education |

Both the ACE Handbook and these checklists are practical guides for undertaking OD interventions with respect to racial issues on campuses today. They provide specific means for making institutional change at academic institutions and take into consideration

many of the constraints detailed by Havelock (1971), Lindquist (1974), Ingle (1989), Bonilla (1989), and in the International Encyclopedia of Higher Education.

These practical guides, incorporating OD and MCOD theory, could be adapted to provide a similar guide for colleges and universities to use in dealing with the more controversial OD effort--enhancing diversity with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual people.

Frameworks for Understanding Change Strategies

Another point of departure for analyzing the data on how change occurred at Rutgers is the literature on strategies for change. This brief review presents various paradigms or frameworks that theorists have posited to differentiate among the variety of social change activities. This review offers a more elaborated vocabulary for discussing the variety of social change strategies. The most basic distinction revealed in the literature is the distinction between planned (purposive, intentional) and unplanned social change. Famines in Africa which result in a massive relocation of most of the population certainly create large scale social change. The massive AIDS epidemic also has led to significant social change especially in certain communities. These social changes are of the unplanned variety. Hunger relief projects, mobilization against multi-national corporations, national liberation struggles, or the passage of the Massachusetts Gay and Lesbian Civil Rights bill are social change activities of the planned variety.

Kotler (1973) defines social change as "the occurrence of an alteration in the form or functioning of a significant group, institution or social order." He defines social problem as "a specific condition in society that is viewed apprehensively or distastefully by some of its members and is thought to be susceptible to mitigation or elimination through collective effort." (p. 171) Similarly, Rogers (1973) defines social change as "...the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system. Change is seen as a process not a state. Because of its process nature, social change is without

beginning, or end, continuous, and flowing through time" (p. 76). These alterations can be planned or unplanned, intentional or unintentional, Rogers (1973) points out "social change will take place even in the absence of conscious change agents pursuing social goals" (p. 171). He distinguishes social change from social action which he defines as "the undertaking of collective action to mitigate or resolve a social problem." (p. 171). Rogers (1973) sees such action occurring through social movements, which he defines as "...collectivities of individuals seeking to effect bottom-up change." (p. 84). Thus social action is always conscious and intentional, it is social change in a particular, desired direction.

In general the field of social change has not been well explored; Moore (1963) concludes that the field of social change has been largely ignored by sociologists. Even more relevant to those of us desiring to improve the current state of our institutions and the wider society, is Warren's (1971) observation that, "within the broad field of social change, the topic of purposive social change has received even shorter shrift" (p. 8). Thus, it is "social action" most specifically that is most unexplored.

However, within the practice-oriented fields of social work and organizational development, a number of grand-scale paradigms that analyzed the various kinds of planned social change efforts or strategies were available. These are paradigms offered by the following theorists: Baldrige, Warren, (1971); Rothman, (1974); Chin and Benne, (1972); Crowfoot and Chesler, Walton, (1974); and Coleman (1973). While each of the theorists has their unique system of classification, there are a number of similarities in the categories they developed. Most of the paradigms are descriptive of the field of planned social change, rather than prescriptive. The following chart summarizes and compares these theorists.

Table 1. SUMMARY ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES

<u>Theorist</u>	<u>Baldrige</u>	<u>Warren</u>	<u>Rothman</u>
Analytical	human relations*	collaborative*	locality development*
Categories	political systems+	contest+	social action+
		campaign	social planning>
	<u>Chin & Benne</u>	<u>Crowfoot & Chessler</u>	<u>Walton</u>
	normative- re-educative	professional-technical*	attitude strategy*
	power-coercive+	political perspective+	power strategy+
	empirical-rational>	counter cultural	
	<u>Coleman</u>		
	changes in social conditions+		
	changes in individuals*		

* indicates analytical categories that describe individually-focused, process-oriented strategies. The goals here tend to focus on improved relationships and reduced conflict.

+ indicates analytical categories that describe larger systems-focused, goal-oriented strategies. The goals here tend to focus on reduced power and resource imbalances.

> indicates analytical categories that describe problem-focused, technically-oriented strategies. The goals here tend to focus on improved efficiency.

From looking at this chart some observations can be stated. Whether the paradigm was developed with reference to the organization, the community, or the society-at-large, each theorist proposes either two or three categories that describe all social change strategies. In every paradigm there is one category that refers to individually-focused, process-oriented, micro strategies and one category that refers to system-focused, goal-oriented, macro strategies. These two categories, then, seem to describe the bulk of what is meant by planned social change. A third category was often found, as well. This last category related to technical strategies, or planned change that relies most heavily on expertise.

Often social change efforts rely on strategies from all three of these categories, or utilize different strategies at different points in the process. While these categories are quite broad, they can help by providing a more elaborated vocabulary for discussing planned change efforts. These frameworks can provide a useful lens through which to view social change efforts on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand how and why colleges and universities respond to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns in a positive manner. Qualitative methodology was utilized in this research process. This chapter will discuss questions of approach, site selection, sample selection, data collection, data analysis, and trustworthiness.

It is important to note, and to keep ever present while reading this study, that the data used in compiling this case study were collected during a three month time period. Activity on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers is analogous to a moving picture. The data utilized in this descriptive study are like historical pictures or old newsreels, and the interviews and current documents are more like a Polaroid pictures. Another researcher studying this same campus at a later date would have access to different data and tell a different story. Interviews for this study took place between March 1990 and May 1990.

Overall Approach

The case study is one form of qualitative research. Sharan Merriam (1988) says, "the qualitative case study is a particularly suitable methodology for dealing with critical problems of practice and extending the knowledge base of various aspects of education" (p. xiii). According to Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1983) what makes a particular inquiry a case study is "the decision to focus on enquiry around an instance" (p. 2). The unit of analysis, the instance, the case can be "an individual, a program, an institution, a group, an event, or a concept" (Merriam, 1988, p. 44). A case is typically selected because "it is an example of some phenomenon of interest" (Merriam, 1988, p. 153).

In her book, Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach, Sharan Merriam suggests that a qualitative case study approach may be most appropriate in areas

where little prior research has been conducted. This is the case with the current study. Few colleges or universities have even started grappling with gay, lesbian and bisexual issues, and research and writing in this area lag still further behind. Given this situation, the case study approach seems well suited to this topic.

Site Selection

There are several approaches to selecting a site for research. Access to the site and availability of resources provide one type of constraint. Theorists of qualitative methodology have developed categories for understanding site and sample selection. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) describe various types of purposeful or criterion-based sampling. The criteria they offer are comprehensive, quota, network, extreme-case, typical-case, unique-case, reputational-case, ideal-typical-bellweather-case, and comparable-case.

Two of these choices are relevant to site selection in this study, the "reputational-case" and the "ideal-typical-bellweather-case." In the reputational-case instances are chosen "on the recommendation of experienced experts in an area" (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 82). From consultation with staff from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's Campus Project and the Fund for Human Dignity's Education Program, Rutgers University emerges as one campus that leads the nation in dealing with gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns. Huntly Collins (1989), in an article about gay concerns on campuses, states "One of the most sweeping reform efforts is underway at Rutgers University, where Edward J. Bloustein the school's president, has set up a 33-member committee to seek ways to improve campus life for gay students, faculty members, and staff" (p. 1). Rutgers University meets the criterion for reputational-case selection.

In the ideal-typical-bellweather-case, "the researcher develops a profile of an instance that would be the best, most efficient, most effective, or most desirable...and then finds a real-world case that most closely matches the profile" (p. 82). The OD literature and the ACE Handbook's advice on how to address racial concerns on campuses suggests

that a system-wide, comprehensive response to the concerns of racially oppressed people that evidences top leadership, an integrated approach to change, minority participation, an examination of assumptions, structures, and priorities, and a focus on the institutional culture is most ideal. If similar suggestions hold for dealing with gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns than a picture of an "ideal" response emerges. Rutgers University reflects elements of this ideal picture. Rutgers University was chosen as the focus of this study because of its reputation, Rutgers seemed to be among the best in campuses addressing lesbian and gay concerns, and because the site provided relatively easy access.

Numerous other site selection choices were possible. It would have been possible to study a larger sample of schools, to investigate all the schools that have taken any proactive steps, or to compare schools that are doing well in addressing heterosexism with those schools that are doing little. Because we are in the very early stages of addressing heterosexism on campus, the selection of one exemplary campus, for the purposes of this descriptive study, made sense.

Data Collection Techniques

Case study approaches are closely tied to data collection techniques and the type of data sought. According to Merriam (1988), "Case studies...make extensive use of qualitative data" (p.67). Qualitative data consist of "detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behaviors; direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts; and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records, and case histories" (Patton, 1980, p. 22). In particular, "Qualitative case studies rely heavily upon qualitative data obtained from interviews, observations, and documents" (Merriam, 1988, p. 68).

The first source of information for this study involved the review and analysis of Rutgers University documents (student catalogs, faculty handbooks), press clips, and documents concerning gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues at Rutgers (internal memos, the

Select Committee's draft report, reports of research, brochures of gay and lesbian groups, archives of the gay and lesbian student group, etc.). [See Appendix A for a list of documents] The use of these documents provided an initial picture of what Rutgers University is like and what Rutgers University has, in fact, done with respect to lesbian and gay concerns.

Interviews with members of the Rutgers University President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns provided additional information on what the situation is and what has happened at Rutgers; but more importantly these interviews provided information about what these advocates for lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers think about what has happened there. Interviews allow us to understand people's perceptions about how and why various interventions occurred. Interviews with people who are in different roles and who are likely to have different perceptions provide richer data. The use of multiple sources of data, triangulation, is one way to improve the reliability and validity of the data.

Access

A member of the Rutgers University President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns was approached at a professional conference and asked about the possibility of studying the work happening on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers. This contact produced an enthusiastic response and a willingness to serve as a key contact for the researcher. The key contact agreed to provide various documents to the researcher. After reviewing these documents, one of which was the pre-publication copy of "In Every Classroom: The Report of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns," the researcher decided to interview members of the Select Committee. A letter was sent to selected members of the Rutgers University President's Select Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns. This letter introduced the researcher, explained the purpose of the research, described what the research would involve, and tried to enlist this person's cooperation in this research project. In addition, issues such as confidentiality for and con-

sent of participants was addressed. [See Appendix B for a copy of this letter] This letter was followed up a week later with a phone call. The initial contact person provided the phone numbers.

Documents

The documents reviewed included the following: a number of catalogs of the university; course listings; Affirmative Action and non-discrimination policies; research on the subject of homophobic harassment, the needs of and services available for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students; brochures from different groups or organizations; posters; press clippings; committee reports; job descriptions; personal letters and memos, sample copies of the Rutgers newspapers--both student and staff papers; and statements from administrators.

Sample Selection

Sample selection followed what Patton has called purposeful sampling or what Goetz and LeCompte (1984) call criterion-based sampling. In the case of unique-case selection, selection is based on "unique or rare attributes inherent in a population" (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 82). Members of the Select Committee all share the attribute of being on the Select Committee and the officially-sanctioned advocates for lesbian and gay concerns.

The sample selection was also guided by what Goetz and LeCompte (1984) call quota selection. In the case of quota selection the researcher "identifies the major, relevant subgroups...and then proceeds to obtain some arbitrary number of participants in each category" (p. 79). The relevant subgroups for this study included: students, staff, faculty, and administrators. Secondary sub-groups included the gender and sexual orientation of the participant.

Two lists of all members of the Select Committee were made. The first list showed membership broken down by role--faculty, administrator, staff, and student. [See

Appendix C]. The goal was to interview at least 3 people in each role subgroup. An additional goal was to interview at least one member of each of the nine task groups of the Select Committee. A second list showing the select committee broken down by task group membership was made [See Appendix D]. Participants were chosen to meet the above goals and to maintain a balance between males and females, about equal numbers of gay/lesbian and heterosexual members, and to provide for racial diversity.

Thirteen participants were selected meeting the desired goals. An additional administrator (who was not an actual member of the Select Committee) was added because of the strong recommendations of a number of those who were interviewed. This brought the total number of interviews to fourteen. Of these, four were faculty members, three were administrators, three were staff, and three were students. Seven of the fourteen were female and seven were male. Eight of the participants were gay, lesbian, or bisexual and six of the fourteen were heterosexual. Once the participants were selected they were contacted to set up an interview.

Additional brief interviews were conducted with students who were not on the Select Committee. Two students who were current Rutgers University Lesbian and Gay Alliance (RULGA) members, but who played no role in the work of the Select Committee or any of its Task Groups, were interviewed together in the RULGA office. Eight additional student participants, who had played no role in the advocacy process, were contacted and briefly questioned to provide a contrasting viewpoint. The researcher spent a few hours in the New Brunswick Student Center one evening and randomly walked up to students who were eating or studying and asked if they would be willing to answer a few questions for a research study.

All of the fourteen interviewees readily consented to participate in this study, as did the two RULGA members and all of the eight random students who were approached. The fourteen extensive interviews ranged in length from forty-five minutes to two hours. The

interviews with the two RULGA members lasted forty-five minutes and the random students each spoke for five minutes or less.

Data Analysis Strategies

The analysis of the data was an on-going, sequential process beginning with the documents, and continuing on through the interviews. A timeline of the major events, critical incidents, and administrative interventions was developed based on the initial documentation reviewed. Interviewees comments were used to elaborate the timeline.

Given the qualitative nature of this study a semistructured interview was the interview format utilized. In the case of a semi-structured interview, "interviews are guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, but neither the exact wording, nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time. This situation allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic" (Merriam, 1988, p. 74). This type of interview format allowed for both flexibility and some degree of uniformity and focus in the interviewing process. The literature reviewed suggested some areas to consider, and provided some areas to probe after more open-ended interview questions were considered.

A pilot interview was first conducted to assess the interview questions. The interview questions and areas for exploration were then refined, [See Appendix E for a copy of the interview guide] before the actual interviews began. All interviews were conducted in person on each participant's campus with the exception on one interviewee who was interviewed in Boston, MA while at a conference. Each interview was audio recorded. The interview process involved two trips to the New Brunswick campus, one to the Newark campus, and one to the Camden campus over a period of three months.

After the fourteen interviews were completed each audio tape was then transcribed verbatim. Three copies were made of each transcript and each was numbered. One copy was placed in a master file and secured. The other two copies of each transcript were color

coded with a colored magic marker. This organization of the transcripts provided the case study data base. This data base was then read numerous times to locate patterns, themes, or categories. Possible themes were noted as the data base was reviewed. The data was then re-reviewed to see if the themes that had been identified were present.

Various potential categories that describe campus change on social issues derived from the literature, for example top leadership involvement and power strategies, provided a secondary lens through which the data was analyzed and coded. One copy of each transcript was coded with the emerging themes while the other was coded with categories that emerged from the literature. The transcripts were then cut up and different codes were sorted into their respective folders.

Establishing Trustworthiness

To produce a worthwhile case study, the researcher must be aware of and sensitive to the biases inherent in this type of research. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) say case study research "is one of the few modes of scientific study that admit the subjective perception of both the participants and researcher into the research frame" (p. 95). All research has biases, however, and being aware of the potential biases and building in checks and safeguards are ways to minimize this concern. Toward this end, this study incorporated two procedures described by Lincoln and Guba (1985), "peer debriefing" and "member checking." In addition the use of what Denizen (1970, p. 301) calls triangulation added to the reliability and validity of the study.

The peer debriefer was an individual not associated with the study. The debriefer periodically reviewed the data and documents and engaged the researcher in a continuing dialogue to probe problems that may not have been apparent, raise questions which should be addressed, and encourage reexamination of procedures and emerging interpretations. This process involved the debriefer reading copies of transcripts, highlighting statements that seemed relevant to the two research questions, "what happened and why," and

thematically coding these statements using categories derived from the literature. Most of the time there was clear agreement between the debriefer and the researcher on both content and interpretation. However whenever there was a differing perception the ensuing dialogue helped clarify the meaning of the categories, and the range of data that might be relevant to the questions at hand. In this way the peer debriefer helped the researcher be accountable for the quality of data, and the consistency in applications of rules/ criteria for data analysis. The researcher checked-in with the peer debriefer every two weeks during the process of data acquisition and analysis. This consistent and on-going dialogue helped the researcher improve the interviewing, clarify emerging perceptions, and check interpretations.

A time-line of the key events on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns was developed from document analysis and participant interviews. This time-line was then shown to ten of the interviewees for their feedback. They checked the accuracy of my understanding of their campus vis a vis gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns and provided feedback. In this manner, member checking was another procedure employed.

Methodological triangulation combines dissimilar methods of data collection to study the case under investigation. Denizen (1970) says "the rationale for this strategy is that the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another, and by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each, while overcoming their unique deficiencies" (p. 308). Merriam says, "the opportunity to use multiple methods of data collection is a major strength of case study research..." (p. 69). The use of review of documents, (some of which were campus-wide surveys) and the conducting of interviews with a number of respondents with different roles and perspectives is an example of how the principles of methodological triangulation were employed in this study.

Presentation of Findings

The basic issue in presenting findings of a qualitative case study is to achieve a balance between description and analysis. The presentation of a large amount of data must be presented in an organized and focused form while carefully presenting enough descriptive examples so that the readers can get a feel for the setting. To accomplish this goal Chapter IV presents a historical case study narrative. This chapter focuses on the first of the two basic research questions. Chapter V presents an analysis of the data that illustrates the themes that emerged and focuses more on the second research question.

- 1) What has Rutgers University done, what changes have been made to address the problems of heterosexism and to develop a more multicultural campus with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual people?
- 2) To what do the advocates of change on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns at Rutgers attribute these actions? or Why did these changes happen?

References to interviews and documents are given. An attempt was made to draw proportionally from among the different interviews, so that no one individual, sub-group, or perspective was over-represented.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS: DESCRIPTION OF CASE

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to look at how and why colleges and universities deal with lesbian and gay concerns. More specifically this chapter presents data gathered in a case study of one university on the process of change. The data which is presented addresses one of the two research questions, the question of what has Rutgers University done to deal with lesbian and gay concerns. The focus of the study was on members of a committee charged to examine and make recommendations for change. In order to understand the factors impacting on change just preceding and during the work of this committee it is important to consider the larger context. This chapter provides information useful to setting this context: some background information on Rutgers University, the wider lesbian and gay movement, and a historical overview of lesbian and gay issues at Rutgers.

Background Information on Rutgers University

A catalog for prospective students boasts "One of Rutgers greatest assets is the cultural, racial, and social diversity of its students. It's a place where you can feel comfortable, whatever your background or interests." In order to examine this claim with respect to lesbian and gay concerns it is necessary to place its activities and policies in regard to this subject within the context of the University as a whole. One can only usefully consider the process of change with respect to gay and lesbian concerns if one has a picture of the whole institution including its: history, location, size, structure, and governance system. The following section is designed to give the reader such an overview. Information about the history, size, location, and structure was derived and summarized from a variety of university documents.

History

Rutgers has gone through several incarnations in its long and varied history. It was chartered in 1766 as Queens College making it the eighth institution of higher education to be founded in the colonies. The doors opened in New Brunswick in 1771 with one instructor and its early development was as a classical, liberal arts college. The name Rutgers was adopted in 1825 to honor a former trustee and Revolutionary War veteran, Henry Rutgers.

In 1864 Rutgers College became the land-grant college of New Jersey. Various expansions occurred with the founding of schools or colleges: NJ Agricultural Experiment Station (1880); College of Pharmacy (1892); (College of Engineering (1914); NJ College for Women (now Douglas College) (1918); College of Agriculture (now Cook College) (1921); School of Education (1924). Rutgers College assumed University status in 1924, and legislative acts in 1945 and 1956 designated all its divisions as the State University of New Jersey. Expansion continued with an evening division, University College added in 1934, the Newark Campus in 1946, and the Camden Campus in 1950. In the decades following Rutgers continued to grow, adding graduate schools to each of its three campuses as well as a variety of professional schools including the following fields: management, social work, fine arts, applied professional psychology, criminal justice, communication, information, and library studies, and law. In 1969 the last undergraduate college, Livingston College was added to the New Brunswick Campus.

Location

Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey has three locations, with campuses in Camden, Newark, and New Brunswick. All three campuses are easily accessible to major urban centers. Newark is New Jersey's largest city and just minutes from New York City. The Camden Campus lies just across the Delaware River from Philadelphia. New Brunswick has a population of 42,000 and is home to the largest Rutgers campus. New

Brunswick is about 35 minutes from the Newark Campus and about 55 minutes from Camden. Princeton University is 16 miles south of New Brunswick. Good public transportation serves all three campuses.

Size

There are over 47,000 students on the three campuses of Rutgers. The university has 26 degree-granting divisions, twelve undergraduate colleges, eleven graduate schools, and three schools offering both graduate and undergraduate degrees. There are 170 academic departments and five Faculties. New Brunswick, the largest campus, is home to fourteen colleges, seven are located at Newark, and five are at the Camden Campus.

The following table provides a breakdown of undergraduate enrollment's at the various colleges which make up Rutgers University.

Table 2. UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

Camden Campus	
College of Arts and Sciences	2,670
University College	973
School of Business	513
Total	4,156

Newark Campus	
College of Arts and Sciences	3,621
University College	1,978
College of Nursing	412
Total	6,011

New Brunswick Campus	
Douglas College	3,341
Livingston College	3,576
Rutgers College	8,563
University College	3,101
Cook College	3,009
Mason Gross School of the Arts	420
College of Engineering	2,567
College of Pharmacy	774
School of Business	1,209
Total	26,525

Total	36,692
--------------	---------------

Structure

The structure of Rutgers University is unique and complex. It is important to understand how the University is organized in order to understand what the University has done to meet the particular concerns of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people and to understand how change happens at Rutgers.

Historically the Board of Trustees was the governing body of the university from its founding in 1766 until the university was reorganized by state law in 1956. This law created a Board of Governors as the University's governing body. The Board of Trustees (59 voting members) remained in a more advisory capacity, with limited fiduciary responsibilities. All members of the Board of Governors (consisting of 11 voting and 2 ex officio members) are also members of the Board of Trustees. Six of the 11 voting members are appointed by the New Jersey governor and confirmed by the state legislature. Five voting members are elected by and from the Board of Trustees; the two ex officio members are the Chancellor of the State Department of Higher Education and Rutgers' President.

The chief executive officer is the President of the University system. There is then a central administrative structure for the entire University system (includes the three campuses) as well as Regional Administration for each of the three campuses.

The Central Administration, which has responsibilities for all three campuses, includes the following positions that report directly to the President: Executive Vice President and Chief Academic Officer, the University Counsel, the Vice President and Secretary of the University who is Secretary of the Board of Governors and Trustees, Assistant Vice President for Student Life and Policy Services and the Executive Assistant for Minority Affairs. Reporting directly to the Vice President are the following: the University Librarian, the Senior Vice President for Program Development, Budgeting, and Student Services, the Senior Vice President and Treasurer who is Treasurer of the Board of Governors and Trustees, the Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs and Vice

Presidents for: Research, Public Affairs & Development, and University Administration & Personnel.

The Regional Administration includes three Provosts, each of whom is the principal administrative officer of the University on their respective campus. The Provosts reports to the President through the Executive Vice President. Under each Provost are the Deans and Directors of the schools and institutes/centers/bureaus located on that campus. The Provost of the New Brunswick Campus has Associate Provosts for: Academic Affairs, Student Affairs, Budgeting, Personnel & Planning, Budget, Administration, & Student Services, Continuing Education, and Minority Affairs, as well. Reporting to the Academic Deans are the Department Chairpeople. The faculty report to the Department Chairpeople.

There are two additional bodies involved in the governance structure. The University Senate and the Administrative Assembly. The Senate's voting membership includes representatives from the faculties, colleges, student bodies, alumni(ae), and administration, all of whom are equal on the Senate floor. There are 15 standing and several ad hoc committees that study issues and bring recommendations to the Senate floor. The Senate's concern is all academic matters and its regulatory decisions concerning admission, scholarship, and honors automatically become the minimum standard for all units in the university. Its advice on other matters goes to the President and the Board of Governors. The Administrative Assembly represents approximately 1,500 administrative, professional, and supervisory employees. This body meets monthly and provides a forum for discussion of matters of university management and administration. There is proportional representation by elected delegates from each of the three campuses. The assembly advises the President on matters affecting its constituents.

Except for administrative, professional, and supervisory personnel, most of the University's approximately 7,000 full-time employees are represented by collective bargaining agents. The faculty are represented by the Rutgers Council of AAUP Chapters; clerical, secretarial, laboratory, office, and technical workers and service & maintenance

workers by AFSCME; Operating Engineers by the International Union of Operating Engineers; and Police Officers by the Fraternal Order of Police.

The catalogue of the Rutgers School of Social Work states, "Rutgers as a public institution in a democratic nation has a public responsibility to offer opportunity to all groups of the population. This responsibility is particularly great in relation to persons who have been denied education or self-development because of historical and societal barriers of discrimination, poverty and inequality."

Historical Background on Lesbian and Gay Concerns

To understand the recent surge of activity (1987-1990) around lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers University it is necessary to place these activities into a historical context of lesbian and gay activism at Rutgers. Lesbian and gay activism at Rutgers, too, must be placed into a wider societal context. This section sketches such a historical context, beginning with the first visible gay activity in the United States.

Overview of Lesbian/Gay Activity in the U.S.

There is some evidence of "homosexual" visibility in the early 1900's in the U.S. with one short-lived Chicago based, "Society for Human Rights," (chartered in 1924), public lectures on the subject, and numerous gay and lesbian novels such as Radclyffe Hall's Well of Loneliness. However, it was not until the post World War II period that a "homophile" movement began. The "Mattachine Society" was founded in 1951, the organization "One" was founded in 1953, and the "Daughters of Bilitis" (D.O.B.) in 1955. The two former organizations were primarily male, while D.O.B. was for women. These groups sought to educate the public about "homosexuality," supported legitimate research on "homosexuality," and tried to help gays and lesbians accept themselves and "integrate" into society. They made pleas for tolerance and sympathy for "homosexuals." In the 1960's the tone of the movement became more radical, the slogan "gay is good" was born and advocacy for civil rights and ending police harassment became a more central agenda.

More visible political actions took place. The ACLU added "homosexuals" to their list of minority groups and took up the struggle for Constitutional rights.

In 1967 the first lesbian/gay student group was established. The student "homophile" group at Columbia University in New York City became the first lesbian/gay group to be granted official recognition by a University. Then in June of 1969 a typical police raid of a gay bar, the Stonewall Inn in New York City, ignited a wave of lesbian and gay militancy and activism never seen before. This lesbian and gay activism was not surprising coming in the wake of the Black civil rights and Black Power, the anti-Vietnam War, the women's liberation, and the student rights movements. Soon after Stonewall many gay and lesbian activist groups sprung up across the country. College campuses provided a fertile ground for all kinds of radicalism, and campuses across the country became home to Gay Liberation Front chapters and other gay and lesbian organizations (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 1988).

History of Lesbian and Gay Concerns at Rutgers

The recent spate of activity around issues of concern to lesbians and gays fits into a larger and longer stream of events. Much of the historical information about this longer stream of events at Rutgers, from 1969-1987, presented in the following sections, comes from the archival research of David Nichols and Morris J. Kafka-Hozshlag (1989) presented in their article, "The Rutgers University Lesbian/Gay Alliance 1969-1989: The First Twenty Years." A variety of other documents, listed in Appendix A, were also utilized to describe the history of and recent activity on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers. Quotes from participant transcripts are included as well to add fullness to the description.

Rutgers University 1969-1979

Rutgers University, physically so close to the site of the Stonewall riots, became home to the first of these post-Stonewall gay student groups. The group known as the

"Student Homophile League" (SHL) was founded in the Fall semester 1969 by sophomore Lionel Cuffie. Cuffie was quoted in the student paper The Targum saying he hoped, "that the League would ultimately aid in the breakdown of social and political persecution and discrimination directed against minority groups" (Nichols and Kafka-Hozschlag, p. 57). About 50 women and men attended the first meeting of the SHL which took place on December 2, 1969 on the New Brunswick campus. By early 1970 the SHL had office space in the Rutgers Student Center and was holding weekly meetings on the College Avenue Campus. The SHL conducted a random survey of 250 students. Results showed that the overwhelming majority were aware of and approved of the SHL and of homosexual relationships. Members of the SHL participated in speaking engagements for different groups on campus. On May 2, 1970 the SHL held its first dance which was attended by 150 people. Before the close of the academic year, however, controversy erupted. From May 6 through May 15 the SHL sponsored an exhibition of "erotic art" in the Rutgers' Student Center. This exhibit featured a live human sculpture which was entitled, "The Silent Soldier." This consisted of a SHL member hanging nude upon a cross. "The Silent Soldier" so enraged a number of viewers on the first day that they attempted to pull the nude SHL member off the cross. The Dean of Students negotiated with the SLH to move "The Silent Soldier" piece to another less public location where it could still be viewed by those so choosing in return for continued administrative support for the SHL. The President of the University, Dr. Mason Gross, received many upset calls from state legislators about the exhibit. The President, however, took a firm stance in support of the exhibit, human rights and artistic freedom. After the exhibit was moved no further campus complaints were documented.

The following academic year 1970-1971, saw the establishment of an official speakers bureau and an emphasis on educational outreach to both the heterosexual community and to other gays and lesbians. A radical political group, R.U. Fags was established, and the SHL held the first annual "Conference on Gay Liberation," which featured

the best known lesbian and gay activists from around the country. This high level of activity and activism continued for the next four or five years. Some highlights of this period included: four more annual conferences, the publication of an informational and educational pamphlet, challenging the Rutgers Athletic Department over the definition of a "date," publishing a four-page "Special Gay Liberation Supplement" in "The Targum," the formation of an SHL Black Caucus, the weekly coffeehouse, "Way Out," discussions with the library about why they didn't subscribe to lesbian and gay periodicals, maintaining an active speakers bureau, co-sponsorship with the Graduate School of Education a "Symposium on Gay Liberation and Education," sponsoring a "Blue Jeans Days," development of a radio program, "SO GAY," and publication of a newsletter, "The Gay Old Times."

By the 1975-1976 academic year the SHL membership was dwindling, although a formal gay switchboard was set up. The sixth annual conference never happened, however a second "Blue Jeans Day," did occur. This time a backlash followed. The fraternity Delta Kappa Epsilon (DKE) hung an effigy, from a tree in front of their house, with a sign saying, "The only good gay is a dead gay--back to your closets homos." The SHL made no formal response to DKE's actions, while a small group of feminist protestors were able to secure the effigy's removal. The Targum became a forum for campus furor over the effigy incident. While the University administration did remove the effigy they took no other actions.

The following year the SHL changed its name to the Rutgers Gay Alliance (RGA) to distance itself from the SHL's inaction on the effigy incident the previous year. The membership was down, perhaps as a result of the increasingly visible and hostile and intolerant attitudes toward lesbians and gays on campus. During this whole period of the RGA's existence tensions between men and women in the group existed, sometimes flaring up and at other times remaining more dormant. For many lesbians the 1970's were a time of alternating between dealing with the heterosexism of feminist/women's groups and the sexism of mostly male gay groups. A number of feminist groups including: the Livingston

Feminist Collective, the Douglass Feminist Collective, and the College Avenue Feminist Terrorists contained many lesbians and worked in coalition with the RGA.

The following years, the latter part of the 1970's, saw a number of similar incidents of backlash. DKE again hung an effigy, on their own property, on "Blue Jeans Day." This time the Dean of Student's had a different reaction since the effigy was on DKE property. The RGA demanded an apology from DKE and condemned the administration's lack of responsiveness in the pages of "The Targum." Despite the RGA's demands neither DKE or the University administration responded.

The following year's (1979) "Blue Jeans Day," again saw DKE activity. This time they hung banners out of their windows saying, "Sodomy is a pain in the ass" and "Anita, DKE loves you." This time the RGA took a more active approach, with a rally and march. During the march one of the protestors was hit on the head with a rock, thrown from the DKE lawn, and was taken to the health center for treatment. The RGA demanded that DKE be put on probation, but the University declined to take this action. The Dean of Students did, however, issue the following statement,

Rutgers College is committed to providing an atmosphere where student, faculty, and staff can exchange philosophies and share ideas without fear of harassment, retribution, or ridicule. The nature of the learning process mandates that all members of the community respect the beliefs, values, and life-styles of others. Acts of intolerance, bigotry or racism, for example, whether anti-Semitic, anti-black, or anti-gay are threats to the entire community" (Nichols and Kafka-Hozschlag, p. 71).

Additionally the University Executive Vice President launched a full-scale review of fraternities and sororities, citing the various incidents of homophobic harassment as one of the reasons for the review.

Most of the fourteen people interviewed talked about the long history of lesbian and gay presence at Rutgers. One respondent, (#5) stated,

Certainly I think everybody would say that Rutgers has a long history of a gay student group, which was the Homophile League, and now it's called RULGA...(p. 1)

Another respondent, (#6) an administrator noted,

Well, of course it began with the students...right after Stonewall. In 1968, '69...the Rutgers Homophile League was founded in '69...so I would say that lesbian and gay concerns began at Rutgers in 1969, after Stonewall...(p. 3)

A student respondent (#13) also underscored this piece of history,

there's been an active lesbian and gay presence at Rutgers since about 1969. The first couple of years it was very dynamic, a very dynamic organization. It became...less successful in the late '70's early 80's...(p. 1)

A faculty respondent (#14) reiterated this point as well,

Rutgers has the second oldest...or was it the first oldest...continuously active student group in the United States, which goes back twenty years. So there's been levels of activity for a very long time (p. 1).

All of the documents and most of the respondents talked about the history of lesbian and gay activity at Rutgers as synonymous with the New Brunswick campus. A few of the respondents added some information about the history of activity on the Newark and Camden campuses. An administrator, (#8) spoke about Camden,

there was a student group in the early '70's...until about '76 or '77. Fairly active group, did a lot of programming on campus. Kept the issues of gay and lesbian students, you know, in the front, on the student newspaper, you know, posters and publicity around campus and things like that. Then it sort of died out...They were called the Foundation for the Universalization of the Counter Culture (FUCC) ...After the first group died out, another group sort of started in the early 80's, and then sort of died out p. 1-2).

It is clear from the various respondents, as well as all of the documents reviewed that the initial activity and visibility of lesbian and gay issues as well as all of the successive activity during this early period came from the various student organizations.

Rutgers University 1979-1986

Again, however, in the Spring of 1980 academic year DKE hung an effigy of a gay man with a sign reading, "Gay Life /No Life," in front of their frat house. A group of 50 rallied in front of the Dean of Students Office to demand action against DKE. Unlike ear-

lier incidents which had occurred on "Blue Jeans Day," this incident seemed unrelated to any external event. The Rutgers Fraternity Council's Board of Control officially banned further anti-gay displays and put DKE on probation. DKE was eventually removed due to several other incidents.

Although the next year started with a demonstration against Jerry Falwell, who was speaking at a fundamentalist convention held at Rutgers, during the early 1980's student political activity was down. However, on November 13, 1981 the Rutgers University Board of Governors amended two policies, the University Policy on Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action and Placement Office Policy. The intent of the amendments was to adopt policies that would bar discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in three major areas of University activity: education, employment, and contracting. The amended portion of the Rutgers Policy on Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action [Regulation 6.4.8] appears in *italics* and is as follows:

A) It is the University policy to make the benefits and services of its education program available to students without discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin, ancestry, age, sex, *sexual orientation*, handicap, marital status, or veteran status. This applies to undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools. Douglas College, however, as a traditionally and continuously single-sex institution, may, under Federal law, continue to restrict college admission to women.

B) It is University policy to provide equal employment opportunity to all its employees and applicants for employment regardless of their race, religion, color, national origin, ancestry, age, sex, *sexual orientation*, physical or mental handicap, marital status, or veteran status, *and to use as a basis for selection in employment only those characteristics which are demonstrably related to job performance or requirements. Where applicants for employment in one of the aforementioned categories are on that account not considered able to meet the bona fide qualifications for employment, the University officer with hiring authority may only act to disqualify them on such a basis with the approval of the Vice President for University Personnel and University Counsel.* This applies to the administration within each employment category of personnel actions such as recruitment, hiring, promotion, training, compensations, transfers, layoffs, return from layoffs, terminations, benefits, tuition

assistance, education, and social and recreational programs. In addition, the University will make special efforts to recruit, employ, and advance in employment qualified members of minority groups, women, handicapped persons, disabled veterans, and veterans of the Vietnam era.

C) It is University policy that contractors and sub-contractors performing work or rendering services to the University observe a policy of nondiscrimination and affirmative action in all personnel matters. Further, it is a University policy that the maximum practicable opportunity to participate in the performance of University contracts and subcontracts be provided to minority business enterprises.

The Board further instructed:

Be it also resolved, that the President of the University direct all University Career Placement and Student Employment Offices to continue to follow their current policy of requiring the outside employers who make use of these facilities to affirm in writing that they do not discriminate against any of the categories of applicants set forth in University Regulation 6.4.8. Where, however, such outside employer believes applicants in any one of the categories mentioned in that Regulation are on that account unable to meet their bona fide qualifications for employment, they may continue to use the facilities of University Career Placement and Student Employment Offices if they inform such offices of their policy and the reasons which justify it. Such information should be available to student users of these facilities upon request.

While most of the respondents talked about the significance of having a non-discrimination policy, most of those that I interviewed were unaware of the process that led up to the Board's adoption of this policy. The process started with activity from a lesbian and gay law student group on the Newark campus. One administrator (#7) remembers lesbian and gay student activism on the Newark campus during the early '80's,

several students on campus who were,...gay or lesbian... were involved with the group, at the time it was called "Rage", Rutgers Activists for Gay Education. R-A-G-E ...And having the faculty and staff there. So it's attempts to really bring everybody together, because there were so few of us few faculty--few staff--few students that we felt that if we all came together, then--and begin to support each other, that that would be, a way of making the group a viable resource...It had to be about '82, '83. So it started seven, eight years ago...All of that is in the context...of...three blocks away, four blocks away, is a very viable, sometimes more viable than at other times--Lesbian and Gay Law

Student Caucus...Back in the early '80's, they used to have meetings--well, at least one demonstration a year, in which there was protesting the university acceptance of ROTC on campus (p. 2-3).

The events that specifically led up to the adoption of the non-discrimination clause were remembered by the same administrator (#7)

It was the law school students here...I know it came from the Board of Governors, and I was thinking New Brunswick, but it was our law school students here (Newark) who pushed it some years ago. And it's been on the books, like, ten years...(p. 4)

Another faculty member (#1) remembered the events in the following manner,

in around 1980 or so the law school...and they often initiated these kinds of things...came to the President and the Board of Governors with a non-discrimination policy and also a recruitment policy...which was also backed by the Dean of that school, who was Peter Simmons, I believe. And I understand, from hearsay, that the President didn't really want to deal with the issue. He had other things on his agenda; but he dealt with the issue and he became a firm supporter...So we got a very good non-discrimination policy in 1981...(p. 1-2)

In piecing together this information it seems that members of the Newark Lesbian and Gay Law Student Caucus had a political agenda which included getting ROTC off campus. ROTC discriminates against lesbians and gays and this may have led the law students to try and get a policy against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation on the books. The non-discrimination policy appears to have been adopted without much public attention, and while it was on the books it seems to have made little difference to the university community for a number of years. A respondent (#1) comments,

that policy was put in place and nothing happened. One year...and every year they send out the whole policy...one year they even got the old policy and they sent it out. And no one noticed except me, and I said, "You sent the old policy out!" And almost as soon as the new policy came out I went over and I said, "O.K. I want my spousal benefits. It says non-discrimination on the basis of marital status, sexual orientation. And I want to put (my partner) on health benefits." And they said, "Oh, those are state benefits, they're not university benefits." Essentially it had absolutely no real effect...(p. 3)

I mean you can't make the policy any stronger...it just was ignored. It's as if you passed the civil rights law on the national level and they just left it on the books and just let everybody continue as they were before. As far as I know it had essentially no impact. And no one...neither a certain group or any other individual faculty...So none of us did anything about it (p. 3)

Even after the passage of the non-discrimination policies the student organizations seemed to be the only visible source of activity, such as it was, on lesbian and gay concerns.

The RGA changed its name again during the 1983-1984 academic year to the Rutgers University Lesbian and Gay Alliance (RULGA) and reintegrated women from the Livingston Feminist Collective. Except for some educational events like a Lesbian/Gay Awareness Week, most of the activities were social in nature. The apathetic and apolitical tone of the group during the 1980's may be reflective of the more conservative atmosphere ushered in by the Reagan administration and true of students in general during this time period. Internal issues of sexism and the role of bisexuals in the group were on-going themes during this time.

The year 1986 saw even more organized backlash. A group calling itself, New Jersey Citizens Against Gays (NJCAG) posted a flyer with a stick drawing of two gay men in a sexually explicit position, with a slash through the drawing. The posters called for "Americans, Help the NJCAG, RU Fagbuster Rally!!" and "Bring your baseball bats." The event called for never transpired. Second semester of 1986 saw a another homophobic incident. RULGA members were staffing a table in the lobby of Brower Commons when a man came up and regurgitated on them. The victim pressed charges of harassment due to sexual orientation at the County level. The judge ruled that this did not technically constitute a case of harassment because it did not involve repeated persecution. The attacker was given a suspended sentence and fined for aggravated assault.

Immediate Background of Lesbian and Gay Activity to Select Committee Formation

An important event in the Spring of 1987 was the release of the "Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Members

of the Rutgers Community New Brunswick, New Jersey" (Cavin, 1987). The survey was conducted by members of Susan Cavin's class "Homosexuality and Society." The report documented a great deal of homophobic harassment suffered by lesbians and gay men at Rutgers. The summary of the report states:

This study indicates that many lesbian, gay, and bisexual members of the Rutgers--New Brunswick community, particularly undergraduates, live in a secret, fearful world where they suffer in silence from a classic double bind: they are damned if they do come out (via external discrimination) and damned if they don't (via not being one-self).

A pattern emerges from the Rutgers data: undergraduate lesbians and gays are often terrorized by homophobic undergraduates, and frequently by fraternity members. The campus police and Administration generally ignore, deny, or minimize Anti-gay harassment. Many gays believe that the campus police's sympathies lie with the perpetrators of anti-gay violence rather than with the victims. To paraphrase the Tower Commission "who will guard the guardians?" (pps. 5-6).

Some significant charges were made and a number of concerns were raised in the report's conclusions. The conclusion states:

Although Rutgers has a provision banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in its covenant, it is not being actively enforced. To date, it is an empty promise of civil rights on paper. It is urgent that Rutgers University must translate these paper thin gay rights into institutional reality.

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual undergraduates and graduate students pay the same amount of tuition as non-gay students at Rutgers, yet this study indicates that they do not receive equal rights and services...

We seriously doubt that all of the non-gay Rutgers administration, faculty, staff, and student body are active homophobic aggressors who go out "queer bashing." On the contrary, most probably go about their routines without ever thinking about lesbians or gays. Passive homophobia, turning one's back in the face of injustice is the norm...

This type of indifference by the majority to the indignities suffered by a minority is repugnant and antithetical to the venerable traditions of both the academy and democracy. The indifference of the many and the powerful

permits, even tacitly condones, the violence of a few against the powerless (pps. 40-41).

A series of recommendations on how to improve the quality of life for lesbians and gays at Rutgers University were included in the report. The following summarizes the report's recommendations:

- 1) Create an Office of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns.
- 2) Create a Lesbian/Gay Studies Program at Rutgers.
- 3) The President should regularly issue and widely distribute a strong statement against the harassment of and discrimination against lesbian, gay, and bisexual people.
- 4) Establish specific law enforcement policies to address anti-lesbian/gay violence.
- 5) Increase dramatically library resources to provide adequate, scholarly coverage of lesbian/gay studies.
- 6) Mental Health should employ an openly lesbian or gay counselor who has professional expertise with issues of sexual orientation.
- 7) Develop sensitivity training on homophobia for Rutgers student service agency staffs.
- 8) The Rutgers media should ensure there is both regular serious coverage of lesbian/gay/bisexual issues and concerns as well as other minority issues such as Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Jewish issues (pps. 45-49).

S.C. sent a copy of this report along with a letter to President Bloustein asking for his attention and response. A number of respondents mentioned the Homosexuality and Society class and this research as significant in the history of lesbian and gay activity at Rutgers.

It is interesting to examine the process that led up to the research and release of the Sexual Orientation Survey. The class Homosexuality and Society, which was offered for about ten years, was developed because of requests from women students at Douglass College. S.C. taught the course since 1985. A faculty member (#5) recalls the significance of the class and the process leading up to the study,

I would also attribute it to my class on "Homosexuality and Society," beginning in 1985. That class. And the group projects that we did. And the violence, actually, in the classroom, from a homophobe, actually is what started it all in my mind...what has now developed into the Select Committee. So it's been years of many people dropping a little something in the bucket, until it got full (p. 1).

what happened was...in 1985 I had about six or eight RULGA students in my class... And we were trying to study homophobic violence at Rutgers, in the group project. But we didn't really have a methodology. And it wasn't 'till after that class...I got hold of your U-Mass Amherst (study). Well, we didn't have it for that class. But we had it for the next class...yours and...(Greg Herek's)...from Yale....And we were trying to do it, and not doing a very good job. But we were getting these anecdotal reports streaming in, of violence (against) gays and lesbians at Rutgers. And we talked about it almost every class. (p. 3-4)

And then finally, this boy, in the class, brought a gun into class...So we had a homophobic, violent incident in the class....And then he pulled the gun out and kind of pointed it at me. And said, "Does my gun bother you?" And I just thought, "This is a Harvey Milk,...God, he's gonna kill me." (I) got very bad reaction from the administration ...from a dean...who essentially...and the campus police ...acted like it was our fault that we had...what had we done to...those were the lines of questioning...what had we done to provoke this boy? And they didn't punish him. And they allowed him to graduate and stay in school...It was horrible. (p. 4-5)

So it was from that incident, (student with a gun) in my mind...we were trying to study this anyway, but then I just thought....Who else is this happening to? Then I got hold of your study (Felice Yeskel's) and Greg Herek's,...And I wrote Greg Herek's some time the following spring...if I could use his study. He said yes, his questionnaire. And so, the next class...that was our group project, to do Herek's' s questionnaire at Rutgers....The fall of '86. (p. 5)

And then in the spring, we released it... of '87...and sent it around to all the deans and faculty...and departments...and to the President. And I wrote a letter to the President saying that he had...he had been arrested for an anti-apartheid thing, ...and that had just happened, and that was in my mind. And I wrote him that I could see that he cared about social justice and that I felt that, had he known about these incidents, he would be against them. He struck me as that type of person. And that I wanted him to know about it and to stand up for us, for gays. (p. 6)

But he responded to it...I felt I was right about him. He was a good, old-fashioned liberal, who didn't want that kind of thing going on around him during his tenure. And that he really was kind of ignorant about homophobia, and up on racism...And I got a letter back from him, saying he had appointed David Burns...to look into this. That was sometime over that summer of '87. And then I got a call from David Burns within about a month or so of that, asking me to come in. And then Burns...is a very smart man, watch him. He called me in and...it was a very interesting meeting. He wanted to know why I had written that study... the one that you got. And he was...partly out of intellectual curiosity...and partly he was bordering on threatening me to...like, he was afraid of what was I gonna do with it? All of his questions were on those lines. (p. 6-7)

what happened after that was simultaneous. Now, I guess, we're in the fall of '87. Then I had another "Homosexuality and Society" class. And this time I had Dan Kaufman and Susan Bailmaier, who were RULGA...I guess he was president of RULGA that year. I forget what their project was, but it had something to do with getting that study out. I forget what they were doing...around that study that we had done the previous year. And they began to write letters at the same time I was being called in by David (p. 8).

They began to write Bloustein letters, asking for action on the recommendations of the study, which I had pilfered from you (Yeskel)...some of your recommendation. I think I used a lot of your recommendations. And some of Herek's. And I guess some of ours. But it was mostly following your two studies, trying to get the same thing that I thought you had up there (University of Massachusetts at Amherst)...an Office of Lesbian/Gay Concerns. Which we've yet to get. (p. 8-9)

A number of other respondents concurred with this story. An administrator, (#3)

remembered,

S.C. sent President Bloustein...this is my recollection of what happened...a copy of a report she did in her course "Homosexuality and Society." And she asked him... I forget what she asked him...she said, "This is the results of something. It requires some sort of attention and action." I don't know the words she used. When the President got things like that he would frequently refer them to David Burns, David Burns being a person who handles and reports back...makes a report. And he said, "This is a report I received. Please recommend how to proceed on it." He, in fact, gave it to me, as the compliance person, and said, "Read it, come back to me and we'll talk about what we should do.(p. 8).

I read it and thought it was an accurate representation of the types of things that happen, but wasn't specific in saying what ought to be done about those things. It gave a good perception of how people were being treated and how they felt about things, but it didn't...it wasn't pointed. It was an expression...an anecdotal expression of how things were on campus. And what I suggested to David was that you need to get better data and...speak of bureaucracy...you need a committee to study it. And then David took the energy, from there, to begin the process, although there was a delay in moving it from that stage to actually forming a committee (p. 8).

Actually, David and I and Ann Cosgrove met with S.C. in David's office, and we had a long discussion about it. Actually, some agreement was reached there that we will proceed and look into it further...which was quite a good meeting actually (p.10).

Another administrative respondent ,(#6) also spoke of the importance of this process,

S.C....in 1986 or '87--I guess '86--had done--(in) one of her classes, "Homosexuality in Society," she had done a survey. So it replicated--I think it was the University of Massachusetts at Amherst... .She had replicated it here. And had her students carry it out. And she told me about it. She said, "I--I want to get this out to the University. Who should I get it out to?" I said, "Well, you've got to get it out to the President",..."You need to get it out to the Dean of Students". And so the environment had already been, I guess, watered in terms of being put on the line (p. 5).

This same spring in response to "minor" incidents of bigotry, University President, Bloustein released, "Towards a Pluralistic Community free From Prejudice: A Suggested Agenda To Improve Human Relations at Rutgers University, " and initiated a campaign to promote respect for diversity. The following is from a cover letter he sent to Vice Presidents, Provosts, and Deans:

I'm sure we share a concern about the rise in racist and sexist incidents at colleges and universities across the nation. More important, I am sure you will agree, we share a responsibility to help build a university community which is enriched by the contributions of all, regardless of race and gender.

The recent resurgence of bigotry is attributable, in part, to the relative lack of attention to racial and gender equality paid by our national leaders...

I know you will agree [that] distinction in what we do is inclusive, and that the excellence we seek as an academic community, encompasses distinguished and humane values and relationships, no less than intellectual achievement. We have recently enhanced the quality of our intellectual pursuit; I believe we must now make sustained efforts to articulate and reinforce the humane values which must characterize our academic enterprise...(Nieberding, p. 12).

The program of "Towards a Pluralistic Community..." included the following components: *Staff Development*--"Extensive staff development programs should be designed, developed and implemented;" *Student to Student Relations*--"Programs to encourage student to student efforts to eliminate bigotry and achieve community should be encouraged;" *Research*--"Of the topics deserving of study by our staff and faculty what could be more important and pressing than the issues of race and gender relations, the promotion of human understanding and the reduction of bigotry? ..To support and encourage this research, ...the development of a special research institute--to have affiliations with all existing programs designed to encourage this study--to provide a focus and a special home for inquires of this nature...;" *Communications*-- "Rutgers has made great strides in developing written and other communications which are sensitive to a variety of intended readers...one way to find out [about whether what we are saying makes sense to our intended reader or listener] is to ask the intended recipients of the message to react. This we should seek to do" (Nieberding, p. 13).

Various programs and committees were set up under this campaign. One of these was the "Committee To Advance Our Common Purposes," established in October of 1987. According to "The Committee to Advance Our Common Purposes:Summary of Activities 1987-1990," it was established "to assess patterns of prejudice, to administer a grant program for students and student organizations, and to improve multicultural understanding through course work, honors programs, staff development, and community relations." Letters were sent to the University community about this new initiative.

Most respondents talked about the Common Purposes Campaign and how important it was to the advancement of lesbian and gay concerns. Respondents offered different

perspectives about how they saw the Common Purposes effort fitting into the history and culture of Rutgers. It seems President Bloustein had a reputation for taking on different concerns and launching campaigns designed to address them. A student respondent, (#2) remarked, "from what I understand every couple of years, he had a new campaign..." (p. 3). A few years earlier Bloustein launched a campaign for excellence, hoping to make Rutgers among the top research institutions. There were numerous factions of the campus that were not pleased with the whole excellence effort. Some respondents thought that the Common Purposes Campaign was just another in a list of campaigns, still others that it was an attempt to quiet the criticism of his excellence efforts. Still others thought that President Bloustein was a real "liberal" and sincerely concerned about the quality of life for all students. One faculty member (#1), remarked,

we also had a President who was very into these kinds of social issues. And then...I'm sure you've heard the story where he was very concerned about racial and sexist and religious bigotry, and he launched this big...he had a pattern in his later years...and every year there was a new campaign for some improvement. And these were generally sort of human issues, because overall, this...over-arching he had this thing to get Rutgers into the first rank of universities...the Berkley of Easy syndrome...but underneath that, or over it, or beside it was this deep concern with human issues. And so he launched this Common Purposes...(p. 2)

An administrator (#3) addressed the political dynamics surrounding the Common Purposes campaign,

Bloustein was a President about whom students were pretty ambivalent...actually probably more negative than ambivalent. He had an image of the university as being a first-class state institution, ranking with Berkeley and Michigan, which it wasn't...and isn't...Students felt that he was ignoring their needs in making it a research institution, rather than an institution that served undergraduates. But he was also greatly concerned with what he...called Common Purposes...which you know is rhetoric, but it was a term used to making this place a place where the diversity of the community was not simply tolerated, but celebrated. Again, it's a lot of rhetoric, but it was also deeply felt (p. 11).

You might want to talk to David (Burns) about the political environment in which Bloustein found himself, and whether

that influenced things. The criticism that he suffered about de-humanizing the university and making it a research institution...if that led him, however naturally inclined he was, to focus on those kind of human issues and to support celebration of diversity....I know that he felt it deeply. But did that provide an extra kick to him to move on it? (p. 49).

Another administrative respondent, (#4), located the effort within a more national context as an attempt to respond to growing racial bigotry on campuses,

in around April 1st, 1987, I think it was...there was an editorial in the "Times" called "Campus Racism: Out of the Closet, into the Quad"...or something to that effect. You might want to look at it. And after that the President asked me...as a sort of principal assistant to him in some of these things...to organize something that would essentially say to Black students that we...in spite of all of the inattention during the Reagan era...in fact...hostility, you might say... that we were still interested in fighting racism...So, when we began to talk about bringing whites into the equation about race...we had a meeting with some Blacks and some whites and the leaders of the university...and it was asked that, after that, I propose a set of strategies... just for talking purposes...(p. 2)

Another administrative respondent, (#7), underscored the racial politics involved in the Common Purposes effort,

I think the university was,--in some ways, politically caught in a very,...important dilemma that they had to address, and this was one way of addressing it. The dilemma was that it wanted to do-- Bloustein, some time ago, before this Common Purposes...and all of that came about, he made a mandate, or declaration that became a mandate, that the university was going to move forward with its goal of becoming one of the top ten universities in the nation....The whole excellence thing. And as a result of that, if you're talking about excellence...in academia, particularly given what's happening with minorities...at Rutgers,...those numbers have decreased significantly....So I think the university was caught in a bind, and this was one way of--of seeming to address that issue. To raise the--on the other side of it, to have excellence going on ...and then you come along with Common Purposes, and the goal of inclusion and multiculturalism...I think that's..in some ways, a very astute position to take on the part of, the President. the problem with it, obviously, is that if you have all of this excellence going on ...and all the support for that, we have never had that kind of support for multiculturalism. We've never had a similar or equal kind of support for Common Purposes. And we will never have that kind of...commitment...And so it, and (in) people's minds, we have this big thing that's

happening. [short laugh] And we also have this other big thing that's happening. But one is supported, and one is not (p. 5-6).

It seems that one of the President's advisors expanded the President's original intention of some administrative effort that would send "a message to Black students," beyond the issues of race and ethnicity. One respondent, (#4), describes the process of drafting an initial set of proposals that evolved into Common Purposes,

And I had included it...included sexism...because my only view is that sexism is not getting anywhere near the attention it should get...what, strategically, struck me as useful in that situation,...is that you would want to broaden the sense in which someone might have an empathic response....The idea is to broaden that out so that you'll have some link-ages...people can see how certain things that they believe, in respect to some aspects of their identity, might also be true about someone who didn't have some aspect...I set about working on this...(p. 2-3)

It appears there was a mixed reaction on the part of top administrators to the whole Common Purposes effort, some thought such a proactive program was asking for trouble, while others thought it important to get out in front. One administrative respondent, (#4), captures the flavor of this tension.

When the President, Edward Bloustein, finally got this thing together...in re-writing something, he used the word 'sexual orientation', when he meant gender. And what happened was...we had a discussion about this program, that we later called the Common Purposes Program...which was this effort to sort of get out in front of things...What happened was...there was, on the part of some of us in the administration, real enthusiasm for stepping...off on this...including the President. There was also extraordinary, serious reservations about people...along what I call the sort of "don't stir the mud" theory of race relations. That is to say, what you hope for in race relations is that nothing will happen...because what is most likely to happen will be bad.... The President was exceedingly unsympathetic to that foot-dragging thing. He had a kind of prescience about a number of things, in addition to, I think, genuinely wanting to find out whether you could make a difference by doing something. And certainly wanting to be out ahead in case something shitty did happen (p. 3-4)

The data suggest further tension and discussion also took place among top level administrators about whether to include the lesbian and gay community in the initial

Common Purposes letter. Some disagreement about the best course of action seemed to surface. One respondent, (#4), provides a flavor of this discussion.

And what happened was...somebody pointed out that he really wanted the word 'gender' there. And I said, "Why don't you put in gender...and leave in sexual orientation, anyway." And what happened was...this is my interpretation...it's a charitable interpretation toward the President. He...said, "No, we're gonna leave it as it is." He did not want to water down, in one sense, the race thing. There was a small discussion about why it might be better to not buy a problem, since we could easily include homophobia. At any rate, it didn't prevail (p. 5).

But those in favor of the Common Purposes campaign with a more limited agenda did prevail, with the initial letter describing the effort highlighting a "concern about the rise in *racist and sexist* incidents at colleges and universities across the nation" and reminding the university community that "we share a responsibility to help build a university community which is enriched by the contributions of all, regardless of *race and gender*." The President's initial concern with issues of race and ethnicity had broadened to include gender concerns by the time the campaign reached the public.

Other projects which ultimately grew out of or fell under the umbrella of the Common Purposes initiative include: "Challenge '69: Retrospect and New Visions," which was a project, "to commemorate the 120th anniversary of the Equal Opportunity Fund (EOF) program and equal access to education for minority students at Rutgers;" "The President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns;" and "The Committee on Education for Civic Leadership," which "devised a plan to include community service in the undergraduate curriculum."

At about the same time as the Common Purposes initiative was getting underway during the fall semester of 1987, on October 6, 1987 the "Rutgers Review" ran a story entitled, "No, Homosexuality Really Is Immoral." Two days following this story, Dan Kaufman, RULGA Co-President, sent a letter to President Bloustein in response to Bloustein's Common Purposes Campaign designed to fight discrimination against mem-

bers of the community who were of "differing beliefs, conviction, race, nationality, or gender." Kaufman was upset about the exclusion of "sexual orientation" from this description of oppressed community members. Dean James Anderson also wrote Bloustein addressing this same omission.

Most respondents discussed the omission or exclusion of lesbians and gay men from the list of groups about whom the President was concerned. This omission seemed to be a critical incident which served to galvanize and catalyze significant energy from different sectors of the lesbian and gay community. Comments from respondents underscore the power of this omission, one administrative respondent, (#6), remembered,

this letter...you can't be...intolerant of racist, against sexist, against these particular groups who are covered in our non-discrimination clause. And that letter deleted--didn't even mention lesbian and gay people (p. 5).

Another administrator, (#3), noted,

the reaction by the students and members of the gay and lesbian community...the vocal reaction...was that in a couple of letters that the President had sent out, he had left out sexual orientation as an area. And that created a furor (p.12).

A faculty respondent, (#11), described,

they created the Committee for Common Purposes, and of course, they omitted gays....Gays and lesbians are always invisible, and so there was a letter sent by the RULGA--the student alliance, saying, "Hey", to President Bloustein, "Haven't you forgotten something?" You know, "Aren't we a minority?" And of course that was corrected promptly! And the committee for sexual orientation was formed (p. 3).

all the prejudice and bigotry that was becoming--that was on the rise....I wasn't on the Common Purposes committee until later, but, from what I understand, it was to eradicate bigotry and prejudice in general. But since lesbian and gays are a taboo subject--I mean, it's an invisible group! Because you don't talk about it, I think that's why it was just forgotten! (p. 4)..

A student, (#13), remarked,

The President announced this big Common Purposes campaign when the semester resumed in the Fall. Sent out a letter to the whole university community that said, "We do not tolerate prejudice, bigotry, blah, blah,

blah" but did not include homophobia, lesbian and gay, that whole sort of mention. Even though it'd been in the non-discrimination policy since '81...However, it sort of did not--it was not inclusive in that language. I got the letter and gave it to Dan Kaufman, the head of the--the student group, and said, "You know, you should write a letter" (p. 2).

Many saw this initial omission as a major turning point in lesbian and gay activity at Rutgers, one faculty respondent, (#1), captures this sentiment succinctly,

And he, (Bloustein) basically, accidentally left lesbian and gay people out, homophobia out...actually it was the best thing that could have happened, because that letter going out without us energized a few key people in the student organization. If he had included us it would just be one more nice, apple pie kind of thing...and there was a select committee (Common Purposes Committee) that has yet to do very much (p. 2).

A few days after Dan Kaufman wrote his initial letter of response to Bloustein, on Oct.11, 1987, RULGA sent a contingent down to the national March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. This was the largest civil rights march in U.S. history with 600,000-750,000 people attending. Student groups from all over the U.S. participated as did college alumni/ae associations, community groups, religious groups, parents, professional organizations, unions, community groups, etc. The effect of participating in the march was galvanizing to students. One of the RULGA students who participated reported

the awesome size of the March made me feel for the first time that our movement was strong, and that as a part of that movement even RULGA, a small, under-enthused college group with what seemed like minimal student-body support, could accomplish something...We came back from the March energized. We wanted to accomplish something and we did (Nichols & Kafka-Hozschlag, p.90).

A month later on November 11, 1987 after many drafts and re-writes, RULGA Co-Presidents Kaufman and Billmaier (with 22 other RULGA members) sent a second letter to President Bloustein. This letter detailed specific demands and recommendations, many of these recommendations were lifted directly from Cavin's Sexual Orientation Survey report. Their demands were the following: A full-time openly gay or lesbian staff member who would function as a coordinator; inclusion of the lesbian/gay community in any talks, speeches, press conferences etc. dealing with issues of discrimination, human

awareness, toleration and acceptance; increased funding of RULGA to increase visibility; recognition and inclusion of RULGA and other gay activities in the Rutgers University Catalog and other publications; periodic public statements from the administration; sensitivity training for all University faculty and staff; increased library holdings; and larger office space and a second phone line for RULGA.

RULGA also sent copies of their letter to various campus administrators and student government leaders. RULGA widely distributed this letter to various media. The media, including the Associated Press, picked up the story and there was a great deal of coverage nationwide of RULGA's claims of harassment on campus and of administrative inaction. The following were among the headlines that appeared mid-November: "Gay and Lesbian Rutgers Students Charge Harassment," "Gays at Rutgers Sound the Alarm," "R.U. Gay Alliance Seeking Protections from Homophobia," "Gays at Rutgers Await Answer on Complaints," and "Gay-Lesbian Group at Rutgers Cites Harassment." [see Appendix A]

This level of political activism, student empowerment and leadership, and their sophisticated use of the media was mentioned by most respondents as major. An administrative respondent, (#6), talks about the sophistication of tying the exclusion of lesbians and gay men from the Common Purposes letter to the whole issue of homophobic harassment that was documented in the Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey,

The issue was up. The survey had been done of Rutgers students on lesbian and gay life here. And they didn't want to pay too much attention to that survey, because it wasn't a survey that they had commissioned. But nonetheless, it was *used* by the Rutgers University Lesbian and Gay Alliance to buttress their argument (p. 5).

So, they (RULGA) were able to bring--they wrote their letter, and they were able to bring a lot of media attention, press conferences and stuff. And so, they put him in a position that he had to respond (p. 6).

One of the student respondent's, (#13), recalls it in the following manner,

it was this whole issue we talk about, of empowerment. I said, "Well, let's send it to Bloustein", okay, this new four-page, new improved letter. But "Let's also send it to all of the deans." And "Let's send it to all the school newspapers," ... "Let's also send it to the Star Ledger and the Home News" ... I suggested we have lots of people at the meeting sign it, so there's like twenty-five people who signed it. And then it said, "And many others who could not put their name" or something, which was picked up and used in editorials (p. 3).

And, you know, it's interesting what people picked up. The media went sort of crazy on harassment and, you know, sensationalized it, got a lot of attention, television, radio, national stuff. And we were very accessible and, you know, tried very hard to sort of generate and cultivate that (p. 3).

Another perspective offered by an administrator, (#7), attributed the formation of the Select Committee to pressure on Bloustein brought by other top administrators.

I suppose again it was political, pressure among some people close to him, who felt that this was a way of addressing a long-standing issue. And particularly with the students being more vocal about, some of the things that were happening. They'd had many more incidents of violence and anti-gay, anti-lesbian, violence at New Brunswick campus than at Newark. We've had more of the, you know, stuff on walls and defacement of materials and the "Gay-Bashing News" and all that kind of stuff (p. 7).

It is interesting to note that days later, after RULGA's second and more public letter to Bloustein, on November 13, 1987 the Board of Governors of Rutgers passed a resolution in support of the Program for the Celebration of Our Common Purposes, which included homophobia within its concerns. It stated:

BE IT RESOLVED, that in keeping with previously announced policies of this Board which have clearly expressed its abhorrence of the remnants of racism, anti-feminism, and *homophobia* found on this and other campuses throughout the nation, it now associates itself wholeheartedly with the President of the University in his recent initiative in respect of reasserting the common values which bind us together as a university community, and urges faculty colleagues to join the President, in their role as primary bearers of the University's tradition, in publicly condemning any recent evidences of bigotry on campus (Nieberding, p. 14).

Soon after RULGA's second letter and subsequent media attention, on Dec. 1, 1987, Assistant Vice President for Student Life David Burns, attended a meeting with

RULGA and other gay, lesbian, and bisexual students. A student respondent, (#13), describes the events leading up to the open forum,

Then, (we) called up David Burns...And so I was yelling on the phone for forty-five minutes at David, sort of saying, "You are homophobic". " You have no clue"...I said, "Look, we want a meeting with him (Bloustein)! Why can't he come to one of our RULGA meetings?" "Well, it's blah, blah, blah," he goes. (I said) "Well, I think somebody has to come and explain this and listen to the complaints at one of these RULGA meetings." He said, "Well, I'll come." I said, "Okay, how about this date?" He goes "Okay, I'll do it." Well, poor David....We put it in the large room...about a hundred and fifty people came. Three or four days before...three thousand posters went up, "The administration responds, David Burns, Assistant Vice President to Student Life will respond to the demands and charges of the lesbian and gay community." all over!....He shows up there. We had also orchestrated with the media, so all the reporters who covered the first story were there, a whole series of the local reporters were there, again, for this. With about a hundred and fifty students. And people were standing in the aisles....People got up and sort of said, "This is my experience", "This is really awful"....He (David Burns) says, and I think that it's true, that that sort of changed around where he sort of stood on this....And we sort of decided to sort of trust him, and we had begun to meet with him regularly and stuff (p. 3-4).

The open meeting was exceptionally well attended with over 200 students in attendance.

The campus newspaper, The Daily Targum reported in an article "Emotions High as Burns Faces RULGA Questioning," in its December 2, 1987 edition,

Discussion turned to anger, argument, and heated emotional debate last night as, in an unprecedented move, the University administration met directly with campus homosexuals (sic) to discuss acts of hatred against the minority group.

Assistant Vice President for Student Life David Burns both fielded and dodged questions during a standing-room-only, two-hour forum at the Loree Gymnasium on the Douglass campus, as members of the Rutgers University Lesbian/Gay Alliance--along with other concerned students--demanded action against homophobia at Rutgers

The forum was the culmination of a series of written exchanges between RULGA and University President Edward J. Bloustein, in which the homosexual (sic) organization charged the president with not addressing their particular

concerns in his new humanistic policy that spotlights minority concerns (p. 1).

One immediate response to the forum was an article written by David Burns entitled, "Why Don't Gays Keep Quiet?" which appeared in the November/December 1988 issue of "Rutgers Magazine," the alumni/ae magazine. In this article Burns talked about his personal process of coming to understand gay and lesbian issues and concerns. Some of his comments follow:

Before getting to know RULGA students, I had what I thought was a "liberal" view of homosexuality...

As an administrator, I had done what I could to be sure that the staff in my departments were prepared to do their work with a sensitivity to "difference" and different needs...

Thus, I did not think I had joined in any way in the hostile chorus--the incantation, one might say--directed against this human difference. But I was mistaken.

In spite of the above, I still sometimes found myself annoyed by those gay and lesbian members of our community who made so much ado about their "sexual orientation." Why did they have to tell me they were lesbian or gay, as if in prelude to anything else? After all, I valued privacy; don't we all keep our sex lives private?..I wondered--and I was not alone in wondering--why we had to have all these gay dances, gay pride weeks...I remarked to myself about the "stridency" of this form of politics. I guess I would have preferred silence.

I have learned a lot this year (pps. 38-39).

He then goes on to recount specific interactions with gay and lesbian students and the lessons he learned from them:

These students helped me see why it was necessary for some students to be open--even emphatically vocal--about who they are.

That these students who are no longer silent are brave is the thing I admire most. They are being brave by being honest. Their bravery exposes them to risk, but it can be a source of strength to themselves and their friends and families. We cannot expect everyone wants to take the risks involved in breaking silence--some believe they can't afford to place themselves in a hostile environment, others have adapted in their own way. But there is much to be learned from the pi-

oneers who have taken this courageous step. We can all benefit from trying to listen (pps. 38-39).

The opportunity of this article appearing in the alumni/ae magazine was used to announce the formation of a new organization. This paragraph followed Burns' article:

A new organization, known as Rutgers GALA, has been formed for gay and lesbian alumni, staff, and faculty. It is part of NETGALA, a national organization, and can be contacted by writing to: PO Box 551, Howell, NJ 07731-0551, or by phone, 210/364-2595 (p. 39).

The open forum was another of the major events cited by some of the respondents as an important turning point for lesbian and gay concerns. One administrative respondent, (#4), describes the power of this event,

it was a useful event. I learned a great deal. I got to hear the kind of testimony of people. And then I went to Bloustein, afterwards, and I proposed, with my staff Dennis Benson and Ann Cosgrove,...we said, "What should we do?" And we made a list of things that we thought we could do immediately. The usual...form a committee, expand what we were doing in Health Education, pay for one of their hotline things, ask the people we designated in colleges to raise the level of this...it was a whole long list....And I went to Bloustein...and I tell you...this is the part I think I had something really serious to do with...I wrote him a letter in which I...I don't threaten things very much...but I think I had a certain kind of persuasive ability in the moral position with him, and he was very trusting of me. I told him that I thought that this was the most persistent, unrelenting horrors on campus (p. 7).

A faculty member, (#1), also describes this event as a turning point,

he (David Burns) started out with the typical liberal view of homosexuality and said..."Why should we do..." But when the student group got him over to this big meeting over in Douglas, and for several hours people stood up...and this is what I mean by the biggest thing we have going is people standing up, saying who they are and what they're going through...these kids, these students would get up for several hours, and told David face to face what they had gone through, their experiences. And then David had this conversion...I can't call it anything else. And then you've seen his article in the Rutgers magazine. And he has been the point person, our contact with Central Administration (p. 4).

A few weeks after the open forum David Burns met with two of the student leaders, Dan Kaufman, RULGA Co-President and Ron Nieberding, Chair of the Rutgers League of Graduate and Professional Lesbians and Gays. After this meeting with Burns, the students sent a third letter to Bloustein.

Right after winter break, on February 3, 1988 Bloustein finally responded by sending a letter to RULGA and meeting with RULGA's representatives. A student, (#13), remembers,

and finally in February, we had a meeting with Bloustein ...he basically gave us the letter. And he was having his annual meeting with students later that day, with the student press. And that's when he announced the major Common Purposes at the same time...and announced this (p. 4)

Bloustein addressed many of the concerns raised in RULGA's letters stating he was taking the following actions: increased sensitivity training through Health Education, a liaison from each college for lesbian and gay concerns appointed by respective Provosts, increased attention to diversity in orientation for new students, a special liaison from the University Police to RULGA, forwarding bibliography of gay related books and periodicals to the appropriate librarian, reviewing of non-discrimination policy on sexual orientation to be reviewed by Affirmative Action and Assistant Vice President for Student Life Policy and Services, and the Director of Publications, designating the Vice President for Public Safety as the person to whom homophobic graffiti should be reported, providing financial support for a second RULGA phone line, encouragement to RULGA to apply for Common Purposes Grants, and the dissemination of an abstract of Cavin's "Sexual Orientation Survey" to all deans. The most dramatic response, by far, was his formation of a Select Committee on Sexual Orientation. Dean James Anderson was named as the Chair of the Committee.

President Bloustein charged the Select Committee to:

- provide a high-level, visible focus to the issue of discrimination and harassment of people on the basis of sexual orientation

- advise him and the University administration on the full implementation of the University's policies barring discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.
- assess current policies and support services.
- recommend plans and policies that will reduce the incidents of homophobic activities on our campuses and address the needs of our gay and lesbian community.
- advise on the activities that will reduce prejudice and improve the climate on our campuses (President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey January 1989, p. 1).

After a meeting between Susan Billmaier, Dan Kaufman, David Burns and President Bloustein a press release was written and a press conference held. A student, (#13), remembers,

we had already pre-arranged a press conference four hours later. We had to write our response to the letter, 'cause we had not--we organized all this, not having seen the letter. So we sat down. I wrote it. I wrote a speech for Dan. I wrote a speech for Susan. And then answered questions. I was gonna answer the questions sort of on my feet. They of course focused mainly on the questions. Though I sort of really wanted to give them more of a central sort of focus because, I mean, they're the undergraduate heads of the student groups, right? So, it got a lot of attention (p. 5).

Again Rutgers made headlines nationwide as news of its program to respond to homophobia spread. Selected headlines read, "Rutgers Officials and Gays Hope to End Homophobia with Education, Support," "Rutgers Adopts Policy for Gays," "Gay Students Happy About Rutgers Stance," "Rutgers Policy on Gays: Bloustein creates special panel and details 9 other steps," and "RULGA Hails New Steps; Pushes for Further Action."

There were mixed reactions to the administrative response and the formation of the President's Select Committee. One student respondent, (#2), was pleased although a bit cynical,

I think that the fact that Bloustein responded by creating a President's Select Committee, means that he was taking it at least somewhat seriously. I think that committees, in and of themselves, can be very farcical. I think that the way it

turned out, with the report and with ... people like Ron and Dan pushing...that just made it be taken seriously...(p. 8)

Another student, (#13), reflects on the response of setting up the Select Committee and the positive consequences of that response,

The Select Committee was not one of the demands we ever made. It was not something we had thought of. It was not something that S.C. had suggested. It was something which I think--which David sort of suggested as a cheap way of getting around the position. And, you know, I don't know if it was a way of distracting from the position ...but I think that it was, in the long run, to our benefit. Because it brought together these different sort of players, who had never sort of interacted in that way, and it gave it a structure and a legitimating function....It meant that someone like myself could call up the Director of International Student Services, the Heads of Housing, the Heads of Residential Life, all these different people, and say, "I want to meet with you." Gave us a budget so we could get a room and have it for a luncheon....And they would show up! (p. 9)

An administrator, (#6), was favorably impressed with the formation of the Select Committee,

he (Bloustein) responded by authoring another letter, and then setting up this Select Committee, this elaborate committee, in a very public kind of way....I was impressed with that response. And I was impressed with what he empowered the Committee to do (p. 6).

A faculty member, (#1), provides some perspective as to how unusual and significant a step was the formation of a President's Select Committee,

David wrote the letter and convinced the president that this is what he wanted, what he needed to do...it had to be a very prominent, a very visible...a very visible indication of the university's interest. There are very few President 's Select Committees...very, very, very few. It really is a significant title...so all that was important (p. 5).

A student, (#2), shares another perspective on the community's response to the Select Committee formation,

at the time, there was talk that the Select Committee was basically lip service. That they had created the Select Committee to get the issue lost in the bureaucracy of a committee. I think that that was one way it was perceived (p. 8).

A faculty member, (#11), describes the impact that the formation of the Select Committee had on a personal level,

I absolutely feel that when Bloustein created that Select Committee, he opened the door. Rutgers became home, to me. And I've been here for eighteen years...it was a very powerful thing for me.... I knew I was welcome as a Black person. But I wasn't welcome as a lesbian. But when I got that letter from Bloustein saying "Will you be part of my lesbian and gay committee?" I mean, that's very powerful. Very powerful! (p. 28)

It is also interesting to consider the process and criteria of how Select Committee members were chosen. Some conflicts and lingering hard feelings seem to have occurred during this process. We can piece together this story through the comments of a number of respondents. One of the respondent, (#1), comments,

I sat down with David and we just got names together. We talked with the students and they suggested names. Then names of people I happen to know, he happened to know. And we made an effort to get people who were interested in the issues on the committee. And we basically came up with a committee that was largely Student Life oriented. And I wanted Kate Stimpson, because I knew she's very interested ...she's Dean of the Graduate School. And I took over the tentative list to her and asked her to be a part of it and she said, "We can't...this is impossible! You've got to have prominent faculty on this. You'll have no credibility in the university at large..."...meaning faculty... "unless there are important faculty members." So she gave us a long list of important faculty people...All these "straight academics," if you know what I mean, who were very important for the committee, very helpful. And so basically it was put together that way. Also we needed to get people from all three campuses. We needed to get people from as many different racial groups as we could. We wanted to get a gender balance...well...gender representation, if not balance. We weren't overly concerned about sexual orientation balance, because by getting people we knew were concerned...we knew we were getting some...and of course some we didn't really know and we didn't want to...there were a large number...I don't even know, myself, what proportion, because some people I just don't know (p. 6).

An administrative respondent, (#4), tried to remember exactly how the Committee was chosen,

I don't remember. I had something to do with it, but what happened was...the most critical thing that happened in the membership selection was that Kate Stimpson...made a strong recommendation, upon seeing the list that Jim Anderson,...started...that we get some very prominent mainstream people on it (p. 21).

I had a lot to do with getting the list together, because I wanted some of my own people on...and I wanted to make sure there were people on it from operating areas...where there would be, for lack of better terms...I'll say the group experience of the actual service that would change things.... It's very different...if you sit through this process, you will change. If I send you the report about your department, you won't change. And so, we wanted the police,...counseling people...(a) guy from the athletic department...(p. 21).

Another respondent, (#5), describes the politics of the selection process and the on-going Committee dynamics,

I was enraged. I called up David Burns. I jumped...he had the whole thing set up. It was all named, like, with twenty people...some very good, like Cheryl Clark and James Creedle...who had been activists forever, and some like Jim, who...I mean...it's good to get people involved who have never done anything, I'm not against that, but to put them in charge of it. I felt like it was kind of a Republican committee. You appoint somebody who doesn't know what they're doing, and let them study the problem. And if they're honest people, they'll try. But they don't really know what they're doing until the end. So that's what David Burns did....And then I called up David Burns, and he put me on it. (p. 10).

it was a very eclectic mix of people. Some were appointed who were not gay or lesbian, that were just supposed to represent some part of the university...which I thought was good...that they were on it. But they knew nothing, just nothing, about the issues. It was good that it was an education for them. But then those people stopped coming after a point (p. 12).

Another respondent, (#3), describes some of the rocky beginnings and the internal Committee dynamics,

it was an amazingly organized task force that sort of achieved consensus. When I went to the first meeting of those who had been invited to join it, it was a difficult meeting. And I thought...this committee is not going to be able to come together and make a set of proposals, because...like in so many...well, I'm not left anymore, but when I was an undergraduate I was involved in left politics...and...

disputing things among yourselves...rather than moving ahead against the people who have the power...I thought it was going to be something like that. But, because the discussion was...who's in charge here? Who should be in charge? Who should be represented? What proportion... there was an issue that S.C. wasn't named to the original task force, which was a great gash, frankly...not to include her in that was crazy. She was subsequently invited, but I think bad feeling persisted because of that (p. 49-50).

Some respondents were concerned with racist and sexist dynamics of how the Committee was chosen and how it operated, one, (#5), describes it as follows,

David Burns...was acting as the President's, as he put it, point man on this problem. But I think...I don't know where they got Ron Nieberding. I have no idea. I never laid eyes on him or heard of him before this Committee...or Jim Anderson. And it became sort of the Jim and Ron show... that committee. And they worked very hard...I mean...for white, gay men. But they're as racist and sexist as they come. And so it was very upsetting for the radical dykes, certainly. And even some of the liberal dykes, to sit on that thing. It was a horror show. So it's amazing...they did a lot., they did a lot of work. I don't mean to put it down. But it was just very difficult in terms of sexism and racism (p. 9).

Another respondent, (#7), points to the same issues,

As usual, I think too often..just simply because..of the ... attitudes, long-standing behavior that's been a part of the system, that it's very hard to get parallel or equal opportunity, for women and people of color on this kind of committee. What it ended up being was that Ron, did a masterful job with it. But it reflects also Ron's biases as a white, gay man...But it is an acceptable document to us. I think it gives us a good foundation from which to build, and that's basically what we wanted anyway (p. 8-9).

Activity on Lesbian and Gay Concerns During the Period of the Select Committees' Work

In total between May 6, 1988 when it first met and November 9, 1989 when the 28-member, Select Committee presented its final report to President Bloustein there were a total of 71 meetings including: 4 meetings of the full Committee (May 6, 1988, Sept. 11, 1989, Sept. 25, 1989, and Oct. 16, 1989), 31 Task Group meetings, 19 Steering Committee meetings, and 17 special meetings. The special meetings included: "...open fo-

runs on each main campus, a university-wide gathering of collegiate, school and faculty liaisons for lesbian and gay concerns, a curriculum and research symposium for representatives of major social science and humanities disciplines, and meetings with heads of university services, outside groups, and the media" (Nieberding, p. 60).

While the Committee's charge was to research, advise, and recommend to the President, the scope of the work related to committee activity was much greater. The following presents in greater detail the activities of the committee and other groups during the period of the committee's work.

Spring and Summer Semesters 1988

Even before the first meeting of the Select Committee institution-wide work began. In April of 1988 the "Rutgers University Student Needs Assessment Survey for Lesbian and Gay Issues" was distributed. This survey was prepared by Allen Kratz and Ann Cosgrove and initiated by the Assistant Vice President for Student Life, Policy, and Services, David Burns, and the Department of Health Education. The survey was pre-tested by some RULGA members and 1,300 copies of the 8 page questionnaire were distributed to various offices on all three campuses. Only 108 completed questionnaires were returned, and of these, only 81 respondents who identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual were included in the results.

A letter signed by David Burns, Assistant Vice President for Student Life, Policy, and Services, was attached to the survey. It stated:

As part of the University's continuing commitment to advance our common purposes, President Bloustein has asked the Campus Provosts to identify a member of the staff of each dean or dean of students to assume responsibility for lesbian and gay concerns.

The persons who are designated will serve as contact persons for resolving problems, promoting general awareness of lesbian and gay issues, sponsoring programs to reduce homophobia, and making appropriate referrals for services.

We are now asking your assistance in identifying areas of concern so that the person designated in each college can best fulfill the functions we have outlined. The survey focused primarily on questions of in what ways and on what issues gay, lesbian, and bisexual students would use assistance. Students were also asked about how satisfied they were with various student services. Finally, they were asked about the qualities and characteristics they would prefer in a coordinator/liaison for lesbian and gay concerns.

The first meeting of full Select Committee took place on May 6, 1988. At that meeting they changed their name from the President's Select Committee on Sexual Orientation to the President's Select Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns. The Select Committee clarified its work. The four goals that guided the Select Committee in its work and in drafting its recommendations are the following:

First, and most important, the university must ensure an environment in which all members of our community, and specifically lesbian and gay students, are able to participate and develop intellectually and emotionally, free from fear, violence, or harassment....Any community which does not aggressively work to protect its members from the physical, emotional, and intellectual ravages of bigotry and prejudice is a community for which freedom of expression and intellectual integrity are a farce.

Second, the university needs to promote a respect for diversity among all its members. It must combat homophobia and heterosexism as an essential part of that effort. Both the bigot and the bigot's prey are injured by prejudice and hate.

Third, the university must ensure equitable and fair treatment for all members of the Rutgers community--students, faculty, staff, administrators, alumni, and their families. Equity is a central tenet of the American creed, enshrined in our nation's founding documents (sic). Fairness must be understood within the context of the diversity and difference which currently exists within our communities.

Finally, the university needs to encourage research and scholarly debate in the areas of lesbian and gay studies. Society needs to understand the roots of heterosexism; we need to understand why the assumption of heterosexuality is so pervasive and firmly rooted in our thought and why all forms of same-sex intimacy are so frightening and threatening to so many people. Solving the problems of bigotry will

require thorough research and serious scholarship (Nieberding, pps. 8-9).

At this initial meeting the Select Committee also developed a structure and process for how it would conduct its work. One of the members of the Select Committee, (#13), came with a written proposal which provided a blueprint for the Select Committee's functioning.

I never know how much of it is just sort of my pushing, ...when we had the first committee meeting, I wrote up this ten-page memo,...and I outlined this year and a half plan. We were going to have an open forum. Each task group would have an open forum, one every month. It would be on different campuses....Then we would have a big open forum and task group recommendations, we would do all of this. We would have nine task groups. I delineated all of their areas of responsibilities and named them. And this whole elaborate sort of plan, with budget, and all this sort of thing. And I guess it shows--sort of shows the generosity of David and Jim that they sort of didn't laugh at me, I mean, it was somewhat presumptuous of a graduate student who sits and completes this...write-up as goal, as if the Vice President...and was very adamant that somehow you will--if you don't do this, that you will,... be a homophobe or something...(p. 19).

(at) the first meeting and I sort of raised my hand and I gave it (ten-page memo) out and everyone said that was wonderful and a couple of them were changed a little bit. And that's what we had...everyone sort of goes along....Do people go along because if they don't, they'll get a hard time from me?....Maybe it's partially the way the university works. If someone wants to be grandiose, and they want to be grandiose on their time and energy, no one's gonna stop 'em....I always sort of wonder, I mean, I sort of feel like I'm in a--a pain in people's shoulder (p. 20).

The Select Committee essentially followed this plan delineating nine areas of primary concern, and created a Task Group to focus on each area. The Task Groups were:

- Curriculum and Academic Affairs
- Ending Homophobia
- Special Concerns of Lesbians
- University Publications
- Personnel Benefits & Services
- Student Life and Services
- Special Concerns of Camden
- Special Concerns of Newark

- Special Concerns of People of Color

During the period from July to October of 1988, 7 of the 9 various Task Groups held meetings including: Ending Homophobia (3 meetings), Personnel Benefits and Services, University Publications, Special Concerns of Lesbians (2 meetings), Curriculum and Academic Affairs, Student Life and Services, and Special Concerns of People of Color.

Fall Semester 1988

Starting in November of 1988 the Steering Committee, comprised of Task Group chairs, met every two to three weeks during the next year of the Committee's work. Some of the Special Meetings held during the fall semester of 1988 included:

- A meeting on Nov. 4, 1988 of some Select Committee members with Director of Library to discuss improving resources for Lesbian and Gay Studies.
- On Nov. 18, 1988, the Task Group on Curriculum and Academic Affairs sponsored a seminar on "Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation" for department chairs in the social sciences and humanities.
- A Colloquium for the appointed Liaisons for Lesbian and Gay Concerns was held on Dec. 9, 1988.

During this semester a new position within the Rutgers College Dean of Students Office was established. This was the Assistant Dean of Students for special populations and affiliate students programs. Cheryl Clarke, an African-American, lesbian was appointed to this position and according to her job description her responsibilities included:

coordinate programs and services for special populations including...gay and lesbian students; coordinate leadership training programs for RULGA, liaison with University Task Force on Gay and Lesbian Concerns as part of Common Purposes Program of President's Office, independently develop broad program of outreach for lesbian and gay students. ("Job Description: Assistant Dean of Students")

Cheryl Clarke apparently was the only staff member at Rutgers University that had written into their job description responsibilities to and for the lesbian and gay community. One of

the ways Cheryl Clarke implemented these responsibilities was to initiate "The Gay and Lesbian Cultural Lecture Series," in memory of Lionel Cuffie, the founder of the Student Homophile League who had died. Fall 1988 was the first semester of the cultural series which was sponsored by the Rutgers Dean of Students Office. The cultural series has remained on-going. Many respondents commented favorably on the work done by Cheryl Clarke and its contribution to the increased visibility of lesbians and gay men at Rutgers. One student, (#2), remarked, "Well, with Cheryl Clarke as Assistant Dean of Students now, she has been having a lesbian and gay lecture series sponsored by the Rutgers College...Dean of Students (Office)..." (p.21). A faculty member, (#11), also mentioned the importance of this work,

I think what Cheryl Clarke is doing is very important...the most important first step is visibility...cultural visibility By just giving it more visibility in everything, then gradually ...it will create change and people will ask more questions ...Cheryl is doing a wonderful thing, because she is showing the culture, a community that has a culture, that has a past and has something creative to offer. And just by having these programs, just having the visibility, the fliers and--it's something that's happening....So I think it's good that this Dean took the initiative to hire Cheryl to do this. I think it's wonderful! (p. 9).

On December 21, 1988 an interim Report to President Bloustein and the Common Purposes Executive Committee on the work of the Select Committee was given.

Spring and Summer Semesters 1989

The Select Committee was in full swing during this time with steering committee meetings every few weeks, open forums on all three campuses, investigative research, and press conferences. In addition they held many special meetings including the following:

- A second meeting with Director of Alexander Library and other librarians was held on March 22, 1989.
- The Task Group on Student Life and Services met with the Assistant Vice President for Public Safety on April 27, 1989.
- On May 4, 1989 Committee representatives met with RULGA to discuss the work of the Select Committee.

- On June 7, 1989 the Select Committee hosted the founding meeting of Rutgers University Gay and Lesbian Alumni/ae (Rutgers GALA).
- On June 13, 1989 the Student Life and Services Task Group met with administrators from Housing and Residence Life.
- On June 30, 1989, a meeting was held with representatives of the City of New Brunswick Police Department.
- The Task Group on Student Life and Services met with the Associate Dean for Fraternity and Sorority Affairs on July 14, 1989.
- On August 1, 1989 members of the Select Committee met with New Brunswick campus Deans of Students.
- A meeting between the Student Life and Services Task Group and representatives of the Metropolitan Community Church (a gay/lesbian ministry) took place on August 14, 1989.
- On August 15, 1989 the Student Life and Services Task Group met with representatives of the Center for International Faculty and Student Services.

Open Forums On February 1, 1989 the first Select Committee Open Forum was held at the New Brunswick Campus. Press releases were sent out and a press conference was held. The February 1, 1989, press release which was distributed through the official Rutgers News Service stated:

The President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns reached out today to the Rutgers community to gather comments on issues the group has studied for almost a year.

The session was the committee's first university-wide forum and press conference. The group heard interim reports from task groups looking at specific concerns of the gay and lesbian community and released the findings of a needs assessment survey.

William David Burns, Assistant Vice President for Student Life Policy and Services said the Select Committee is an integral part of the Common Purposes project.

The chairs of the nine Task Groups presented interim reports and preliminary recommendations. The Select Committee received feedback from those attending. Many of those interviewed commented on the strategic importance of the open forums. A faculty member, (#11), described the role the open forums had in generating press coverage,

Those open forums we had where we invited the press. That was wonderful, because we had articles in the New York Times!....It gave an awful lot of visibility to the lesbian and gay community at Rutgers, which gave a lot of pride to Rutgers, "Oh, boy, we're really liberal!"....It creates an atmosphere of pride. It did that.... That we are in the forefront of, you know, gay and lesbian liberation (p.21).

A student, (#13), also commented on the tactical importance of the open forum at New Brunswick,

The open forum was done because we needed to keep our profile high;...the issue had sort of died down since we were appointed, so we had to do something to get our profile up. So what were we gonna do? So I said--I came up with this open forum. And people felt that that was good....You can use this as a trial balloon...you can say these are preliminary things that are being discussed....So we found that you had to change the rhetoric around, there were things we found that we would have to fine-tune. So it was a good exercise, but it was a public relations thing....you have to sort of keep this as a dialogue. You have to keep the debate up around this issue. And that's really the solution to the whole problem, is--is to keep this being discussed and to sort of "legitimate" it, and to constantly remind people that this is an official university concern (p. 14).

The New Brunswick open forum also served to bring another constituency into the process, the Board of Governors. A faculty member, (#14), mentioned this,

The Board of Governors...several of them came to the public hearing in New Brunswick and had discussions with some of us. I remember...it's their public policy that includes sexual orientation. The press picked it up and there was very positive stuff in the press...(p. 12-13)

At the Open Forum, a Livingston College student announced the formation of the Rutgers University Heterosexual Alliance (RUHA). This counter organizing was picked up in the press as well.

The meeting was widely covered by the press including: The New York Times, The Newark Star Ledger, the Home News, the Courier News, News Tribune, the Trenton Times, and the Hackensack Record. An article appearing in the February 2, 1989 edition of The Record, entitled "End Sought to 'Vicious' Gay Bias at Rutgers:Bloustein Panel Offers Solutions," stated:

A blue-ribbon panel at Rutgers University has proposed a far-reaching series of measures to end what it calls pervasive and sometimes "vicious" discrimination against homosexuals on campus and to create a social and educational climate of openness for gay men and lesbians.

The President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns, appointed in response to complaints of harassment, slurs, and violence against homosexuals, is advocating changes in every aspect of campus life to support gay students, faculty, and staff members.

The Daily Targum, the New Brunswick student newspaper editorialized about the meeting in its February 3, 1989 edition under the title "Laurels and Darts":

The President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns held an open forum this week, and the response, except for a few ignorant morons who always seem to appear at such things, has been positive. A wide range of ideas came from the meeting, many of which have merit and some of which should certainly be adopted. The members of the committee and those who attended the meeting receive *laurels* for carrying out one of the less popular battles for toleration in our society. The unenlightened infidel who announced to the Associated Press that he was forming a "Rutgers Heterosexual Alliance" gets a *dart*; this is the same type of thinking that leads to things such as the National Association for the Advancement of White People and other hate-mongering groups (p. 6)..

While reactions to the Open Forum were generally positive, some concerns were raised as well. Mark Wilson, one of RULGA's Co-Presidents, wrote an editorial in The Medium, (a Livingston College publication), on February 15, 1989 entitled, "The Select Committee Reports--Then What?" in which he raised some concerns:

The President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns is an advisory body and has no power to effect change. What happens then, after it gives its final recommendations?

The committee itself probably won't be around to follow up on its proposals. "I assume once we submit our recommendations, we'll no longer exist," said Select Committee chair James Anderson on Friday (p. 5).

He goes on to raise questions about who will provide the leadership, direction, and consistency to make necessary changes which are not limited to one campus or just to undergraduate students. He argues:

All of this points in one direction: the creation of a standing office for addressing the concerns of lesbian and gay students, faculty and staff.

"The most concrete thing that could come out of the central administration is the creation of a position, which I call the University Coordinator of Lesbian and Gay Concerns...and a continuing advisory board, such as this committee," said Anderson.

We want to create an infrastructure that's more permanent. We can't expect a student organization to make things come to a head year after year (p. 5).

Again on March 9, 1989, the Select Committee held its second Open Forum, this time at the Newark Campus. Again chairs of Task Groups presented a summary of their work, the issues involved, and preliminary recommendations. They also heard testimony from gay and lesbian students about the homophobia they had experienced on the Newark campus. Two organized lesbian and gay student groups exist on the Newark campus,

The last Open Forum took place on the Camden Campus on May 3, 1989. Since no organized, open lesbian and gay presence existed on the Camden Campus this forum focused on a dialog with leaders of the student government about the possibility of forming a lesbian and gay student and staff group.

A number of the respondents described the Camden campus as the one that was most backward on lesbian and gay issues. One administrator, (#4), said, "...Camden was, I thought, sort of the boondocks on this topic..." In fact it seemed that the first set of notices that were put up announcing the Camden open forum were defaced. A faculty member, (#14), remarked,

When we had our public hearing in Camden, that came out very clearly. The notices about the public hearing were torn down within an hour of being put up, the first time around (p. 7)

and further,

that's a working class community that has found this very difficult to deal with...they're the ones who stole the posters (p. 11).

A staff person, (#8), describes some of the flavor and tone of the Camden open forum,

But I think what I was surprised about were some of the faculty that came out and asked some questions. They were asking two things. Number one, personally, how they'd handle a situation where if you or I are on the opposite side of the podium, and a student has a concern about what's going on in the class because of comments or remarks, how do they handle that? Or how do they handle their comments or remarks with the subject matter?....And the other thing was that a lot of them were asking for--what can they do--what can they bring into their classroom? You know, teaching aides and literature and resources....The ones that came out. I mean, granted, there was a small number, but, they didn't come out and scream and yell. They didn't come out and say "It's not an important issue". They said, "We know it's there. We're not always sure how to--how we handle it,...or if we handle it correctly" (p. 14-15).

While each of the three open forums had their own character and dynamics they all seemed to increase visibility and legitimacy for lesbian and gay concerns. One faculty member, (#14), provides the following summary,

I think the fact of the three public hearings was a real boost in the arm in terms of giving legitimacy, credibility, public awareness, community education...(p. 11).

Research. In April, 1989 the "Survey of Rutgers University Faculty and Staff" was distributed to all Rutgers faculty and staff, including graduate teaching assistants on all three campuses. A total of 10,400 individuals received copies of the survey and 1,161 individuals returned the survey. The survey contained three parts, the first two for all respondents while the third section was only for teaching staff. Part I focused on employee concerns and asked questions about campus and department climate, discrimination, and harassment, the utility of sensitivity training for their department, and their desire for health

benefits for "same sex domestic partners." Part II of the survey focused on demographic data, gender, race, role/position, sexual orientation and campus. Part III focused on pedagogical and curricular issues including perceptions of the valuableness of lesbian and gay studies courses, majors, minors, certificates, integration of lesbian and gay material into existing courses, library collections, and a required course. Questions about homophobic harassment and incidents within the classroom and advising contexts were addressed. Respondents were finally asked in what ways they had incorporated lesbian and gay content into their courses, articles, films, books, etc. that they found to be useful resources on this subject, and ways in which they had helped gay, lesbian, and bisexual students to feel at greater ease in their classes.

Finally a separate non-anonymous "Resources Request and Contact Form" was included. This form asked if respondents would like a variety of kinds of assistance with respect to lesbian and gay concerns including: campus/community resources, counseling resources, sensitivity training for the workplace, information about student rights, compliance enforcement, and the reporting of homophobic incidents, help integrating lesbian and gay material into their curriculum, and a listing of university liaisons for lesbian and gay concerns. They were asked if they would like to mentor lesbian and gay students and they were asked to send any syllabi which included aspects of the gay male or lesbian experience. Surveys were due back on May 1, 1989.

A month later in May 1989 the "Survey of Rutgers University Resources on Lesbian and Gay Issues" was distributed to over 100 student service providers on all three Rutgers campuses. The results of the survey were intended to be compiled into a Resource Directory for faculty, staff, and students. The survey had four parts, I and II for all, Part III for Career Services and Placement, and Part IV for Housing and Residence Life. Respondents were asked to list any resources on lesbian and gay issues including: films and videos, workshops, pamphlets, speakers, bibliographies, models of work on other social issues that could be adapted, specially designated staff for dealing with lesbian and gay

concerns, and desire for assistance. In addition to these questions career services and placement staff were asked about compliance with the University's non-discrimination policies, and whether issues of concern to lesbians and gay men related to career planning and job searching were offered. Housing and Residence Life Staff were asked to also consider the following: housing policies about lesbian and gay students, whether non-homophobic or anti-homophobic housing options existed, married student housing's inclusiveness of same-gender partners, and programming about gay issues. This survey was due back on June 15, 1989.

The Office of Student Life Policy and Services was responsible for another data collection effort. They conducted a national survey of other colleges and universities looking for model efforts on lesbian and gay concerns, in the academic arena, in student life and in homophobia reduction efforts. This research also took place during this period with special staff hired to complete the effort.

While not exactly research, a number of the Task Groups circulated draft copies of their recommendations to the wider campus community soliciting written feedback and input.

Other Activities. In March of 1989 RULGA received two grants from the Common Purposes Grant Program for a projects to reduce homophobia. One was for a button distribution project and the other was for a publications project. The Grant Program "is designed to finance student initiated proposals which seek to celebrate the diversity of our community by eliminating bigotry and prejudice" (Announcement for the Grant Program to Advance Our Common Purposes).

Members of the Select Committee engaged in state-wide networking efforts both with community groups and other colleges and universities. Some of these activities included: appearing on a talk show, "Mid-Day lifestyles," making a presentation to Bell Communications Research's (Bellcore) Sexual Orientation Equality Committee, meeting

with an anti-homophobia group at Princeton University, meeting with local gay and lesbian groups in Maplewood and Morris County, and presentations at conferences both regional and national.

Production of a 20 minute video that was to "...be a valid reflection of the experiences of lesbian and gay students, appeal to undergraduate students attending orientation and other workshop sessions, and result in the expression of greater acceptance toward lesbian and gay students by undergraduates" (Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Spring Update: June 12, 1989, p. 6), was undertaken. This project was originally called "Celebration of Diversity: Lesbian and Gay Students;" the name of the finished video tape is, "A Little Respect: Lesbian and Gay Students on Campus." The video was funded by a grant from the New Jersey Department of Higher Education and produced by the Rutgers Office of Radio and Television. The decision to make a video focusing on lesbian and gay issues was the result of an informal poll. An administrator, (#4), comments,

when we got this grant to do an anti-bigotry piece...we informally polled the deans and asked them what kind of material they needed. And they said there was reasonably good stuff on race. There was reasonably good stuff on sex, or gender...although I'm not sure any of them are really using it. But they really felt they needed something on homosexuality, or homophobia. And that is why we wrote a grant to do that (p. 33).

One of the spin-off effects of the Select Committee's work, and the high level of attention and visibility given to lesbian and gay issues at Rutgers University, was the broadening of policy at the state level. An administrator, (#4), describes one way in which this occurred,

in fact, homophobia wasn't even in the Chancellor's Human Relations Program until I, as a consultant said..."You've gotta add this in" And the same kind of problem that we had at Rutgers, with the Common Purposes thing. And they did. And then they gave us a grant to do it. Which I regarded as pretty substantial...twenty-five-thousand dollars from the Department of Higher Education to deal with this,

when they had never even officially mentioned it... So that represents some kind of progress (p. 33).

This development shows how addressing lesbian and gay issues in one part of the system can have spill-over effects on other parts of the system.

On June 5 and 6, 1989 the Rutgers University Student Health Service held a two day seminar for all its staff members entitled "Reduction of Racism, Sexism, and Homophobia in College Health Care." Other staff development activities also occurred, including: a five-day training activity, "Race, Gender, Sexual Orientation: Integrating the Issues," for the Rutgers College Residence Life Staff; a program sponsored by the Livingston College Dean's Office for 50 staff members; and the Cook College Residence Hall Staff participated in a workshop addressing homophobia in the residence halls.

Fall Semester 1989

During the fall semester the committee was busy preparing its report for President Bloustein. Three of the four full committee meetings took place during this semester. The full committee met on September 11, 1989, September 25, 1989, and again on October 16, 1989. During these meetings they finalized recommendations, the structure and organization of the report, and the actual text.

On November 9, 1989 the Select Committee presented their final report, "In Every Classroom: The Report of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns," to President Bloustein. The "Pre-Publication Copy" was simultaneously released in Washington, D.C., and timed to coincide with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's "Creating Change" conference. Members of the Select Committee called a press conference which was held at the "Creating Change" conference in Washington, D.C. An official press release, dated November 9, 1989, submitted by Rutgers New Service stated:

A comprehensive study of the lesbian and gay community at Rutgers, released today by the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns, places Rutgers on the "cutting edge of universities addressing these issues nationwide," according to James D. Anderson, committee chairman....

Kevin Berrill, director of the Campus and Anti-Violence Project of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, called the document "one of the most comprehensive studies to date of lesbian and gay life on college campuses" and predicted it will serve as a model for other universities throughout the country....

The report now goes to Rutgers President Edward J. Bloustein for review. Bloustein, in a letter to Anderson, praised the "comprehensive scope and high quality" of the committee's work.

"The report will be received gratefully and will get the careful and deliberate study it deserves," Bloustein said.

The material will be sent to campus provosts, deans, directors, student leaders and governing bodies throughout the university for further study prior to any decision on the best approach to implementing its recommendations, Bloustein said.

The report will be discussed at a press briefing at 10:30 a.m. Friday (nov. 10) in conjunction with a national conference for gay and lesbian activists.

Once again the media flocked to cover Rutgers' handling of the lesbian and gay issue; the wire services picked up the story about the report's release. The New York Times featured an article entitled, "Report: Homosexual Face Bias at Rutgers," The Star-Ledger featured, "Rutgers Panel Favors Office for Gay Concerns, Report Urges University to Include Homosexual Experience in Studies," The New Tribune proclaimed, "Rutgers Asked to End Vicious Discrimination, Report: Extend Benefits to Gay Partners," The Record reported, "Rutgers Panel: Revise Campus to Protect Gays," and The Daily Targum, the Rutgers University student paper editorialized on December 12, 1989, "RULGA Ready for the Next 20 Years."

Twenty years ago on December 2, the University's gay community got angry...

In 20 years, RULGA has gone a long way toward helping gays on campus establish an identity...RULGA has made Rutgers a safer and more tolerant place to live and work....

During this time, RULGA has made giant steps forward. But can the same be said for society? In 1988, the U.S. Justice Department released data that showed gay men and

lesbians were more likely to be victims of harassment and discrimination than members of any other minority group...

While gays on campus tremendously advanced their own condition, it is questionable whether or not heterosexuals have kept pace...

The report released this semester by Bloustein's Select Committee contains five recommendations central to accomplishing its goal of combatting homophobia and heterosexism....

In 20 years, we may have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go. The consideration of the Select Committee's recommendations would be a step in the right direction. Realistically, implementation could possibly take another 20 years. But, changes could come much sooner if the heterosexual community addresses its homophobia and learns to overcome it (The Daily Targum, December 12, 1989, p. 12).

The December 13, 1989 issue of the Chronicle of Higher Education contained an article, "Rutgers Panel Outlines Ways to Fight Homophobia," which stated:

A committee at Rutgers University has called on the institution to integrate the experiences of gay men and lesbians into the curriculum and create a "safe space," on the campus where homosexual students can gather without fearing harassment....

The report is among the most wide-ranging ever to deal with the issues that homosexuals face on campuses. Officials at Rutgers say they will study it before deciding how to act on its recommendations....

"This is not just a report for lesbian and gay students," Mr. Nieberding says, "We hope it's for the wider university community" (p. A 51).

One local New Jersey paper, the Asbury Park Press, did not feature such positive coverage of the report. In its November 12, 1989 edition the headline proclaimed, "Rutgers Report Urges 'Gay Love Zones' and Changes in the Curriculum." This was reporter Roger Conant's way of describing the Select Committee's recommendations of safe space for lesbians and gay men. While such sensationalized coverage did generate some negative letters to the editor, most of the press coverage and responses to the report were much more positive.

The report was released as part of a strategy designed to generate as much media attention as possible. While the media picked up the story about the release of the preliminary report, a number of respondents expressed dissatisfaction and disappointment over the quantity of the coverage. One faculty person, (#1), stated,

Well, one problem was...the Berlin wall came down November ninth. So we didn't get the kind of press we anticipated...(p. 11)

A student, (#13), described it like this,

I had this whole plan, this whole release strategy, which sort of fell on its face. I was real disappointed with the reception the report got... all --everyone of these stories I had talked about-- the release of the letter, the meeting with Burns, the announcement of the Committee, the open forum, had all been either page A1 or B1 stories. Often with photograph. This was on the obit page of the local newspaper when it was released! Well, the Berlin Wall collapsed that day. You know? I mean, maybe that had something to do with it. But it was a big disappointment to me personally. And I don't know how much of it was because I was going crazy! I mean, I was up, without sleep for three days, to get it to be photocopied, you know, for that preliminary edition. Then, you know, had one day before it was released, answered--waited for press calls and then went to Washington for it. So I couldn't sort of, you know, before I'd sort of been hand-holding everyone through this. I had sort of assumed, the press office, this was going to be their job. And I think they really messed up (p. 21).

The report itself contained 130 specific recommendations. However the Select Committee identified five central objectives in accomplishing the four goals it had set.

These five objectives were:

1. *The establishment of an Office for Lesbian and Gay Concerns with at least one full-time staff person.* A central University Office provided with staff and resources and advised by a committee of faculty, staff, students, and alumnae/i is needed to provide a visible, prominent focus for the long-term work of implementing this report's recommendations. Someone is needed to act as a voice for the issue who is undistracted by other necessary concerns and complicated problems which currently confront university administrators; at least one person needs to have ultimate responsibility for responding to specific problems or incidents...Also, a professional is needed with the skills, expertise, and time to serve as a clearinghouse for effective

strategies and creative programs for change and prevent duplication of efforts across the university.

2. *The creation of incentives for the integration of the "new curriculums."* Scholarship and learning are expanding as new social groups with new experiences, different cultures, and unexplored histories take their place in our public life....These emerging areas of scholarship, these "new disciplines," need to be better integrated into our existing teaching curricula and our standard pedagogy.

This can only be done through the allocation of new resources by the university to support and encourage the development of "new curriculums" that are inclusive of not just the lesbian and gay experience, but also of other under represented groups. Incentives, such as release time or rewards in the tenure and promotion process, must be created...

The inclusion of lesbian and gay people in the intellectual discourses of the classroom is crucial to combatting homophobia and heterosexism, since it demonstrates the intellectual and academic legitimacy which lesbian and gay issues deserve.

3. *Combatting homophobia through distinct, tailored sensitivity programs.* We must develop programs and educational activities in a variety of formats on homosexuality, lesbianism, bisexuality, and heterosexism on all campuses, particularly for new students during orientation; for students in residence halls, fraternities, and sororities; and for faculty, staff, and administrators, especially in such areas as health care, campus security, residence life, and counseling--the entire student life area in general.

Anti-homophobia education and training can be integrated into existing anti-bias activities throughout the university, especially as they relate to other forms of prejudice such as racism, sexism, xenophobia, and prejudice directed towards members of religious or national groups.

4. *The creation of safe space.* All public space at the university should be safe space free of racist, sexist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic bigotry. This is an ambitious project which will take many years to achieve. However, until the time arrives when two women or two men can safely walk arm in arm through campus and show their affection for each other publicly, as so many opposite-sex friends do, we need to create a space where lesbians, gays, and bisexuals and their friends can interact and develop supportive communities.

5. *Ensure equity in access to benefits and services.* Currently lesbians and gays are denied access to benefits and

services which are in principle said to be supplied to all employees. The egregious and serious example of this exclusion is in the area of employee health benefits. Until the university provides equal health benefits to the domestic partners and children of lesbian and gay employees it is not meeting the requirements of its own nondiscrimination policy (Nieberding, pps. 9-10).

The specific recommendations made by the Select Committee are organized, in priority order, under each of these five general objectives. The report stated, "In each category, top priority recommendations that should be implemented immediately are indicated by an (*) and are listed first" (Nieberding, p. 38). In this way the Select Committee's recommendations were quite specific and implementation-orientated without sacrificing an ability to communicate their sense of value and importance. For instance within general objective 2, "Curriculum and Academic Affairs," their top priority for the sub-topic "curricula, lecture series, and academic programs," stated:

Readings on the lesbian and gay experience should be included in introductory social science, biological science, professional, and humanities courses, especially those courses taken by many or all students such as English composition courses and the new course proposed by the Committee on Education for Civic Leadership, as well as the introductory sociology, political science, psychology, biology, economics, social work, and literature courses (Nieberding, p. 41).

The fourth recommendation within this same category was that, "A gay man or lesbian should be invited as a commencement speaker, or a gay rights activist should be awarded an honorary degree" (Nieberding, p. 41). The ninth, and final, recommendation within this category stated, "The Committee encourages Rutgers University Press to continue to solicit and promote publications related to lesbian and gay studies" (Nieberding, p. 42). The other sub-topics within the "Curriculum and Academic Affairs" include: "curricular integration," "library collections," "instructional practice," "alumnae/i support," "joint/cooperative academic programs," and "university-wide coordination." Every other major objective is broken down into a variety of sub-topics, and within each sub-topic,

recommendations are listed in priority order. In this way 123 concrete, action-oriented recommendations were delivered to President Bloustein and the university community.

Many of the respondents made comments about the quality, comprehensiveness, and impressiveness of the report, and expressed pride in the work that they had accomplished. One administrator, (#4), described the report as follows,

It's done very well. It's done within the cannon of the university standards and values. It's well written. It's well researched. It's well argued. It was broadly based...not as broadly as, perhaps, it could be...but very broadly for this sort of work. And I think people are increasingly uncomfortable with making the kinds of arguments you have to make to deny this...these are people we are working with. These are people that we like. These are people that we've entrusted with all kinds of power in the university (p. 18).

Another administrative respondent, (#6), bragged,

the report is really a landmark. I mean, it's really groundbreaking kind of thing. A piece of--a-- document, at a national level, it's really up there (p. 10).

A faculty member, (#9), commented,

the report is superb. The amount of energy that went into it, the product itself, the thoroughness...it's a kind of model. I doubt that there's another report as good anywhere in the country....The way it's laid out is very handsome, and so on. Now that shows you what a small group of dedicated individuals can do if they want to do it here (p. 8).

However there was some dissenting opinion about how well the final report dealt with the specific concerns of lesbians and people of color. A faculty member, (#5), commented,

I feel a lot was accomplished in terms of recommendations... about benefits and all of that. And some curriculum change. But I feel the same problem of the lesbian issues and the people of color issues got short shrift...many times I regretted having fought to get on that committee (p. 13).

The same faculty member also expressed some concerns about how the report was viewed as an end in itself as opposed to being part of a larger, on-going process of change,

I think Rutgers will feel like, "Well, we've done all we're going to do. We've dealt with that issue...by doing the report." I think that's what's so deadly about the report...is

it's viewed as an end in itself by the chair of our committee,
by Jim Anderson, by David Burns...(p. 21)

However, even before the release of the final report, many of the 130 recommendations and necessary interventions were already implemented by the time the final report was released. For example, there were many changes in the Fall 1989 orientation program for incoming students. Many new students at Rutgers College participated in a program titled, "Major Campus Issues: Prejudice, AIDS, and Diversity." Students also received a revised copy of the "Rutgers College Guide" which contained a message from Dean Wood stating, "Rutgers College categorically rejects...behavior...that is discriminatory to...lesbians and gay men." Additionally, campus resources for lesbians and gay men are included in this guide. The Graduate School of Management included in its new student orientation a presentation on homophobia, heterosexism, and sexual health. Cook College students attended a required workshop called, "Learning to Live Together," which addressed issues of racism, sexism, and homophobia. Douglas College students attended a panel discussion exploring issues of diversity. The Teaching Assistant Project (TAP) sponsored by the Rutgers New Brunswick Graduate School Teaching Assistant Conference featured discussions about racism, sexism, and homophobia.

However, on December 9, 1989 tragedy struck Rutgers University, President Edward J. Bloustein died after eighteen years in office. In the December 15, 1989 issue of Rutgers Focus, the Rutgers University Faculty and Staff newspaper a front page article entitled "Rutgers Mourns Edward J. Bloustein," described his commitment to diversity:

"Ed Bloustein's death is an enormous loss for Rutgers, for the state of New Jersey and for higher education across the nation," said Michael Bongiovanni, chairman of Rutgers' Board of Governors.

"Ed Bloustein believed deeply in the public mission of the university, and he believed that New Jersey needed and deserved to have a state university that was equal to the best in the country. He was passionately committed to a vision of the university as a humane community where differences of background and culture were respected and celebrated. We will miss his vision and leadership deeply."

The article goes on to further describe his character:

Throughout his tenure, Dr. Bloustein expressed his moral, ethical, and educational philosophies openly and clearly through his public statements and his organizational commitments. Hew took part in a march protesting the Vietnam War shortly after taking office, and in December of 1984, he was arrested along with a number of other civic leaders in an anti-apartheid demonstration in New York City.

In his 1988 commencement address, Dr. Bloustein called for a community service requirement for all Rutgers undergraduates. Such service, Bloustein said, "would help educate our students to the world of the sick and the aged, the world of the deprived and dispossessed, a world which looms before us and which we can no longer continue to neglect except at our moral and political peril."

The December 13, 1989 issue of the Daily Targum, published "Perspectives--a look back at the fall semester." The headlines state, "The Semester Comes to a Close, the Bloustein Tenure Ends, the Decade Nears its Finish. "A variety of issues that captured the headlines during fall semester 1989 were reviewed, including lesbian and gay issues. The introduction to "Perspectives," stated,

It is time for the end of the 1980's and the onset of the 1990's; it is the beginning of the end of the 20th century. As we turn to face the challenge of a new decade, we must realize the importance of the different and varying perspectives which govern our environment.

That is the challenge of the 1990's: To look beyond your own perspective. Different perspectives should not be divisive forces. Rather, an understanding of differing opinions brings people together.

The University environment is shaped by a multitude of perspectives...But, in order to understand the voices that cry for an affordable education, an end to sexism, racism, and homophobia, and an awareness of acquaintance rape, we must first listen to each other.

Almost all of the respondents identified Bloustein's death as a major factor affecting the current state and future of lesbian and gay issues at Rutgers. One faculty member, (#5), sadly stated,

Now, with the death of Bloustein, we're in trouble, in my opinion....Will it (the report) ever be implemented? He

died...I wouldn't say reading it...but he died with the result in his office. And now that he's died, it's hard to know what's gonna happen. Nothing's happening....But the report is not being disseminated. It's jammed up (p. 15).

Another faculty member, (#11), shared her feelings,

I'm very sad that Bloustein died. It's not that I want to give him credit for everything, but sometimes we're put in a position where we're catalysts for something, even if we don't actually do it, but which is a catalyst. And he was a wonderful catalyst for the lesbian and gay community--for things to happen. And I cared about him, anyway. But in that role, I feel very sad because I think the lesbian and gay community could take a step back here. We could, if there's no momentum. Because he had the momentum because he had the receptivity, and a close relationship to the people who have a commitment like David Burns (p. 29).

An administrator, (#4), remarked,

we have a lot of problems. I mean, not only did the person who was the champion of the anti-bigotry effort die...and throw us into this kind of mess...but we have this enormous budget cut...(p. 10)

A student, (#13), expressed a less pessimistic scenario, with a wait and see attitude,

the Bloustein death could be a plus or minus...a commitment to diversity and common purposes, is one of the criteria for the selection of the President....The chair of the Board of Governors has publicly stated that there are five programs...that...will continue to carry on the legacy of Ed Bloustein.... community service is one... the campaign for excellence,....And that the Common Purpose Select Committee was one of those five things....maybe he was reading the Select Committee into Common Purposes, I don't know (p. 23).

Dr. T. Alexander Pond, Executive Vice President and Chief Academic Officer of Rutgers, was named acting President of Rutgers. Pond will serve until a new President is named by the Board of Governors. Pond expressed his desire to continue the course set by Dr. Bloustein. He stated that the death of Dr. Bloustein, "...leaves a huge void in our affairs...his legacy includes a clear enunciation of our next objectives. Let us unite around them in his memory and, by continuing on the course he set, enlarge the academic and human qualities of Rutgers as our monument to him" ("Rutgers Focus," Dec. 15, 1989, p. 1). Unfortunately managing the transition and building upon Bloustein's foundation were

not the only concerns Pond faced. At about the same time, a budget crises hit Rutgers University.

Spring Semester 1990

Pond began his first semester as Acting President of Rutgers, facing some extraordinary challenges. According to the front page story in the February 14, 1990 edition of The Daily Targum, "Pond revealed the University will not receive \$8.95 million from the state that had been in the original budget allocation. The University must now compensate for this loss by June 30. "That's an awesome sum of money at this time of year," he said." The budget crisis caused by the state shortfall quickly became the focus of the university's attention.

As a result, the already destabilized, university was confronted with a new challenge along with managing the transition until a new President was found. A nineteen member search committee was announced on February 27, 1990 by Board of Governors Chair Michael Bongiovanni. The March 9, 1990 edition of Rutgers Focus announced "Committee Begins President Search." According to this article, "The Presidential Search Committee has been instructed to begin its search immediately and bring a recommendation of five candidates to the selection committee of the Board of Governors by June, if possible" (p. 1).

Many of those interviewed named the fiscal crises as a major factor affecting the current and future progress on lesbian and gay concerns. A student ,(#2), remarked,

I think a lot of the recommendations depend a lot on funding. And with the way the budget cuts have been...those that depend most heavily on funding won't get implemented for a while (p. 13).

A faculty person, (#14), discussed the impact on the possibility of a coordinator,

The other issue right now is that the state is in a five-hundred million dollar deficit. The university's absorbing a couple million dollars of its' own deficit, in that. So to create a new position...they may not be able to justify that right now. But

the goal is to get a point person...a staff person, liaison, whatever you want to call it...a coordinator (p. 4).

Another faculty person, (#11), also focused on the fiscal woes,

Money's very scarce right now at Rutgers! You know...there's a big problem! (p. 11).

An administrator, (#4), discussed the budget impact on the future of lesbian and gay concerns,

it's very hard to predict what's going on. Last week we learned of, essentially, the equivalent of laying off seven-hundred people in terms of the budget cut....The equivalent of a thirty percent tuition increase...or closing one whole campus...is what we've been faced with. And, frankly, one of the things I learned, as a child, is that lynchings increased when the price of cotton dropped. It's a very hard time to fight bigotry and prejudice when you have scarcity. No one really gives a shit. If you're rolling in money and you decide you're gonna put some money over here too...but when things get scarce, I think, arguments get made that are really self-interested arguments, self-preservation arguments that have to be masqueraded in some sort of theory or something. I don't think you have to reach very far to come up with a theory as to why a coordinator for homophobia or homosexual concerns is a less compelling thing to do than the teaching of remedial mathematics. In other words, the problem becomes, what gets compared, what categories are kept straight (p. 10-11)

This same administrator, however, had a more optimistic long-range perspective,

I think the competition for resources is gonna get tougher. But what I think is interesting, is that this is a map of the new territory, new possibilities. And it will remain after some of this budget stuff frees up. And if we can get students and if we can get alumni/ae really, to engage, my sense is that it's a vast, untapped resource of both emotional support and financial support (p. 45).

Given these major events confronting Rutgers, it is not surprising that progress on lesbian and gay concerns slowed considerably. On April 23, 1990 Jim Anderson, Chair of the Select Committee, sent out a memo to update the members of the Select Committee on the current situation and future plans. The following excerpts from this memo summarize the situation:

I regret the slow pace surrounding attention to our issues, but the sad passing of President Bloustein and universal pre-occupation with budget matters has effected all of us.

I am pleased to report that David Burns and I have arranged for the Select Committee to meet with Acting President Pond and other senior university officials on Thursday, May 10, 1990, at 2 p.m. in the President's Office, Old Queens....

Our report is now being sent out to vice presidents, provosts, deans, chairpersons, directors, and student leaders across the university, together with letters from Dr. Pond calling for study and planning for implementation of our recommendations. I enclose a copy of the printed report for you!

Included in Dr. Pond's letters to students and directors of various services is the offer that "members of the Select Committee will be happy to meet with you to help with this process." On the enclosed form, please let me know with whom you will be willing to meet, e.g., faculty, administrators, student services staff, support services staff, students, etc.

At David Burns' request, the Board of Governors has approved a modest increase in student fees. Some of this increase may be used to fund a position for a person who will work to help implement many of the Select Committee recommendations. Actual filling of this position will depend on resolution of budget problems. In case this position does become available, I will ask our steering committee to suggest persons to serve on a university search committee, for this position, in line with our own recommendations. If you have suggestions for members of the search committee, please do get them to me.

I expect the Select Committee to continue until a new University Advisory Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns is constituted. The Select Committee will function as a "constituency concerns" group within the framework of the Common Purposes Committee. As such, it is essential that our members also serve on task groups of the Common Purposes Committee (after all they have adopted our pattern of task groups to focus on particular areas of concern!).

In addition to asking everyone on the Select Committee to continue to play a role, (if only an interim role), by either meeting with various groups or serving on a Common Purposes task group, Anderson requested their attendance at the meeting with Acting President Pond and the senior officials. He also called for a meeting of the Steering Committee to plan for the meeting with the top officers. Included for Select Committee

members' convenience was a response form for them to indicate how they would continue to be involved.

A few days after Jim Anderson wrote to members of the Select Committee, copies of the report, In Every Classroom, were widely distributed to vice presidents, provosts, deans, department chairpersons, selected directors of service departments, and student leaders along with a cover letter from Acting President Pond. The cover letter, dated April 26, 1990, that went to vice presidents and provosts stated:

As we have discussed, I am asking you to undertake a process of study and consideration of the report and its recommendations which President Bloustein promised and which I believe the report richly deserves.

Please organize a process which will culminate in a comprehensive report describing the suggestions and recommendations made by those under your general jurisdiction, the procedures and efforts relating to the recommendations that are already in place, your assessment of what changes need to be made, and how they might be made. If resources are required for implementation of any efforts, I would like to have your best estimate of what this would take. Of course, I am also interested in any other thoughts you may have as a result of this review. I have asked each of the recipients of the report to give you recommendations and I look to your report to contain a coordinated response.

I would appreciate knowing how you plan to undertake this study as soon as possible. I would like to have your final report by 1 October 1990.

We have scheduled a meeting with the members of the President's Select Committee for 10 May, at 2 p.m., in my office. I would appreciate your attending this meeting, so that we may express our appreciation to the group directly, have an exchange of ideas, and describe the process of consideration that we are undertaking.

I know that in the current budget difficulties, consideration of another large set of needs in the University is extraordinarily difficult. I do believe, however, that the new steps recommended here should receive consideration among our priorities even in difficult times. I commend the report to you for the wisdom of many of its discussions and recommendations, which if implemented would improve the services to all students and make the University a more humane place.

Much of what is recommended is simply good administrative practice or the endorsement of legitimate areas of academic inquiry or teaching. Perhaps we can use this report as a way of restating some fundamental values which might otherwise be obscured in the current context.

According to the outline Jim Anderson prepared for the meeting with these top administrators and Acting President Pond, the following items were on the agenda for the meeting:

Welcome--Anderson

Homophobia Reduction--Wilson

Student Perspectives--Billmaier & Dale

Surveys--Cavin & Schroder

Cavin survey of anti-lesbian/gay harassment

Needs assessment survey of lesbian & gay students

Staff and faculty survey

Common Purposes survey of student attitudes

Creative Programming--Clarke

Special Concerns of Lesbians--Cavin

Special Concerns of People of Color--Creedle

Special Concerns of Newark/Camden--James Credle & DiValerio

Academic and Curricular Issues--Gillis

Other Universities' Efforts; Overview of Report--Nieberding

Institutional Conflicts with Non-Discrimination Policy--Anderson

The presentation concluded with Anderson conveying the following:

The Committee is convinced that the appointment of a university coordinator for lesbian and gay concerns is the single most important step for the university at this time. Leaders among collegiate and school liaisons, deans of students, students organizations, student service personnel and faculty have told us and shown us that they want to take positive steps. But this is a new area of concern. Our surveys and discussions have shown us that they are looking for guidance, materials, and training. A university coordinator would facilitate positive steps in homophobia reduction, curriculum development, sensitivity training, and media representation in every unit of the university.

These are *the first steps* in a long-term commitment.

I hope you will join me and the committee in seeking to achieve a university community where *all our* members are treated with respect and equity, and we can indeed celebrate our common purposes together (Anderson's notes for presentation to Pond).

Apparently the meeting went well. According to Jim Anderson the meeting lasted about an hour and a half. He summarized the reaction of top administrators in a letter, stating:

There were some comments from VP's and provosts, all saying what an impressive report we had presented and how seriously they would take it. Several said our presentation had been very effective, and later the provost of New Brunswick asked if we could recreate it for the New Brunswick deans. I said "with pleasure" (personal letter to Felice Yeskel, May 15, 1990).

This describes the state of affairs on gay and lesbian concerns at the close of the Spring 1990 semester. What will happen as a result of wide-spread distribution of the report, feedback from different sectors of the university, and implementation of the many Select Committee recommendations remain to be seen.

Conclusion

This chapter, describing the history of how lesbian and gay issues were addressed at Rutgers University, provides an answer to the first research question: What has Rutgers University done, what changes have been made to address the problems of heterosexism and to develop a more multicultural campus with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual people? The following time-line of this history provides an accessible summary of important events.

The next chapter will focus on answering the second research question: What factors or strategies facilitated change at Rutgers?

Time Line of Major Lesbian and Gay Activity at Rutgers University

History

Fall 1969 Student Homophile League (SHL) was founded.

Dec. 2, 1969	First meeting of the SHL which took place on the New Brunswick campus.
May 6-15, 1970	"Silent Soldier" incident, administration supports exhibit.
May 1971	SHL sponsored first annual conference on "Gay Liberation."
May 1972	SHL sponsored second annual conference entitled "Gay Cultural Exposition."
April 1973	Third SHL sponsored conference on "Gay Liberation and Culture."
April 1974	Fourth SHL sponsored conference on "Gay Unity."
April 1975	SHL sponsored fifth annual conference on "Gay Freedom."
Spring 1976	"Blue Jeans Day" and DKE hanging an effigy of a "homosexual." Administration arranges for effigy to be removed but makes no statement and takes no other action.
Fall 1976	SHL changes its name to Rutgers Gay Alliance.
April 1978	DKE again hangs an effigy on "Blue Jeans Day." The effigy was removed. The RGA demands an apology from DKE and condemns the administration's lack of responsiveness. Neither DKE nor the administration responds.
April 1979	DKE hangs homophobic banners out of window. The RGA holds a rally and march. Protestor hit on head with a rock, thrown from DKE lawn. RGA demands probation for DKE, but the administration refuses. Finally a full-scale review of fraternities and sororities is launched.
May 1980	DKE hangs effigy of a gay man with "Gay Life /No Life" sign. RGA rallies at Dean of Students Office demanding action against DKE. The Fraternity Council's Board officially bans anti-gay displays and put DKE on probation.
Nov. 1981	Rutgers University's Board of Governors adopts policies barring discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation as part of an overall University policy.
Fall 1983	The RGA changed its name again to the Rutgers University Lesbian and Gay Alliance (RULGA).
Spring 1986	Cheryl Clarke begins as advisor to RULGA. New Jersey Citizens Against Gays (NJCAG) post a violent, homophobic flyer on campus.

Events Leading Up to President's Select Committee Formation

Spring 1987	Results of Susan Cavin's classes' Sexual Orientation Survey released. Cavin sends copy of report with letter urging action to Bloustein.
-------------	--

- Sept. 1987 Bloustein releases "Toward a Pluralistic Community Free From Prejudice: A Suggested Agenda to Improve Human Relations at Rutgers University," and initiates campaign to promote respect for diversity-- sets up Committee to Advance Our Common Purposes. The issue of sexual orientation is missing.
- Oct. 8, 1987 Dan Kaufman sends first letter to President Bloustein. Dean Jim Anderson also writes Bloustein about his exclusion of sexual orientation from his anti-discrimination campaign.
- Oct. 11, 1987 RULGA sends contingent to the national March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, this is the largest civil rights march in U.S. history.
- Nov. 11, 1987 RULGA Co-Presidents Kaufman and Billmaier (with 22 other RULGA members) send second letter to President Bloustein with specific demands and recommendations (many of which came from Cavin's Sexual Orientation Survey report). This letter was widely distributed to the media. Media coverage of RULGA's claims of harassment on campus and of University inaction appear nation-wide.
- Dec. 1, 1987 Open meeting/speak-out held with David Burns, Assistant vice President for Student Life. Over 200 students showed up and confronted Burns with their concerns.
- Dec. 1987 Kaufman and Nieberding (Chair of the Rutgers League of Graduate and Professional Lesbians and Gays) meet with Burns, a third letter is sent to Bloustein.
- Feb. 1988 Bloustein sends RULGA a three page letter addressing their concerns and announces several steps he is taking in response to their letter including. One response is the formation of the President's Select Committee on Sexual Orientation. Meeting with RULGA, Burns, and Bloustein, much press coverage.

Work of Select Committee and Other Activity During this Period

- April 1988 Distribution of the "Rutgers University Student Needs Assessment Survey for Lesbian and Gay Issues."
- May 1988 First Meeting of Full Select Committee. Name changed to Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns.
- July-Oct 1988 Meetings of 7 of 9 of the various Task Groups.
- Nov. 4, 1988 Steering Committee meeting with Director of Library to discuss improving resources for Lesbian and Gay Studies.
- Dec. 21, 1988 Report to President Bloustein and the Common Purposes Executive Committee on the work of the Select Committee.

Feb. 1, 1989	Select Committee Open Forum, held at New Brunswick Campus. Press release and press conference. A Livingston College student announced the formation of the Rutgers University Heterosexual Alliance (RUHA).
March 9, 1989	Select Committee Open Forum, held at Newark Campus.
March 22, 1989	Second meeting of Steering Committee with other librarians.
April 1989	Distribution of Faculty and Staff Survey on all campuses.
May 1989	Distribution of Resources Survey to various university offices.
May 2, 1989	RULGA receives Common Purposes Grant for projects to reduce homophobia.
May 3, 1989	Select Committee Open Forum, held at Camden Campus.
June 7, 1989	Select Committee hosts founding meeting of Rutgers University Gay and Lesbian Alumni/ae (Rutgers GALA).
June 30, 1989	Meeting with City of New Brunswick Police Department.
Aug. 1, 1989	Representatives from Select Committee meet with all New Brunswick campus Deans of Students.
Sept. 11, 1989	Full Committee Meeting.
Sept. 25, 1989	Full Committee Meeting.
Oct. 16, 1989	Full Committee Meeting.
Nov. 9, 1989	Presentation of Select Committee's Final Report, containing more than 130 recommendations, to President Bloustein. Simultaneously released at National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's Creating Change Conference in Washington, DC.
Dec. 9, 1989	President Edward J. Bloustein dies after eighteen years in office. Dr. T. Alexander Pond, Executive Vice President and Chief Academic Officer of Rutgers, was named acting President of Rutgers.
Dec.'89-Feb.'90	Rutgers University learns of state budget crises, faces budget cutbacks.
Feb.27, 1990	Presidential Search Committee formed and instructed to begin its search for a new President, making a recommendation to the Board of Governors by June, 1990.
April 23, 1990	Jim Anderson sends out memo to the members of the Select Committee updating them of the current situation and future plans.
April 26, 1990	The report "In Every Classroom..." was distributed with a cover letter from Acting President Pond to various constituencies throughout the university. Requests for study and responses to the report were made by Pond.

May 4, 1990	Select Committee Steering Committee Strategy Meeting.
May 10, 1990	Meeting of members of the Select Committee and Acting President Pond and senior level administrators.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS: ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

This study examined the process by which one college dealt with lesbian and gay concerns by focusing on Rutgers University, one of the campuses leading the nation in attention to lesbian and gay concerns. This chapter addresses the second research question. The data derived from in depth interviews and review of various documents is analyzed to shed light on the question: "What factors or strategies facilitated change at Rutgers?"

The respondents, all of whom were members of the President's Select Committee, participated in to varying degrees as advocates of change. Some respondents were actively involved in the activities and events that preceded the formation of the President's Select Committee, while other respondents joined the committee months after it began. Respondents' ability to answer some of the questions asked depended on the length and depth of their involvement with lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers.

For the purposes of this analysis, the period immediately leading up to the formation of the President's Select Committee and the period of the Committee's work up until Spring semester 1990, provided the focus. From a careful reading of the documents and transcripts of the interviews, various themes emerged that answer the question, "how did change happen?"

This chapter is organized into three sections: *"Responses to Open Ended Questions;" "Responses to Specific Questions;"* and *"Discussion and Summary."* The semi-structured interviews began with open ended questions. This allowed respondents the greatest latitude to describe the change process in their own words. The second part of the interview provided an opportunity to focus on specific areas suggested by a review of the literature. These areas included leadership, pressure tactics, education, research, critical incidents, external factors, work at other colleges and universities, and work on other

issues of oppression at Rutgers. Responses to the open ended questions will be considered first. Respondents answers to specific questions will be next. The final section will include further discussion and a summary of the data.

Responses to Open Ended Questions

To understand respondents' view of how or why change happened, they were asked the following open-ended questions (See Appendix E for complete Interview Guide).

My premise is that there recently has been lots of activity around lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers...I am interested in what is happening here at Rutgers and what do you think are the primary factors enabling it to occur?

Could you briefly describe the history of activity/efforts on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers..which activity/effort do you think was most significant in creating change? Why?

What strategies have been most influential at creating change at Rutgers?

Do you think over the last few years there has been a qualitative leap in dealing with lesbian and gay concerns? If so, what do you think are the primary factors that contributed to this leap?

This section presents the themes that emerged from respondents answers to these questions.

Creation of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns

Most respondents mentioned multiple factors that contributed to the process of change on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers. Almost all of the respondents pointed to the creation of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns and the Committee's report, "In Every Classroom," as central for creating change on issues of concern to lesbians and gay men. For some respondents it was the prestige of a Presidential Committee that was the significant element. One faculty member, (#1), described it in this manner.

it had to be a very prominent, a very visible. . . indication of the university's interest. There are very few President's

Select Committees...very, very, very few. It really is a significant title...(p. 5)

Another faculty member, (#9), described the President's Select Committee as the most expansive and integrated effort for the university.

I think the Select Committee, obviously, has been a culmination of things. For instance, it's the biggest and most coordinated effort...certainly this is the most important thing that has happened (p. 1).

A staff member, (#12), believed the power of the President's Select Committee resided in the visibility it brought to the issue of lesbian and gay concerns and the message that it sent to the university community.

I think just even discussing them. Just to say to people that this is important...that this is something we need to talk about...this is something we need to explore...these are some things that we need to make changes about... I think it's an important message. Because that means that, gee, somebody else really thinks this is important (p. 16).

For an administrator, (#6), it was not just the existence of the Select Committee that was significant, but how it was able to function as an educational vehicle for the community.

That Committee in itself was a very effective strategy because that Committee served to educate the community, too. So it was like an educational project for the community. The Rutgers community...more so in New Brunswick than the other two campuses (p. 23).

The President's Select Committee had the serendipitous effect of educating the people who were its members and helping them to become stronger advocates. One faculty member, (#14), described the Select Committee as follows:

Just taking a look at the President's Select Committee, there's a wonderful mix of straight and gay, Black and white, male and female, academic, staff, administration, students and so forth. And clearly there is a learning, growing process which will have a ripple effect (p. 5).

A staff member, (#8), remarked,

the personal part of being on the Committee that I mentioned, my personal growth. Because, I wasn't gay. So I found it very interesting to be on the Committee and--and listen and watch, a lot of times....So as I said it brought

some understanding to a lot of things that I never gave any -- any real thought to as a person (p. 16).

Another staff member, (#12), reflected,

It's been an experience, because I think you hear a lot of different things, being on these committees and stuff, that you never really even thought about before. Because you get very insular (p. 2).

A student, (#13), pointed out two additional ways that the Select Committee functioned. Many lesbian and gay faculty, staff, and students who worked in different parts of the university or in different departments were brought together through their work on the Committee. This opportunity to network with others who were interested in lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers helped to organize and focus the scattered energy.

then you also have a group of people, I think, in Student Life as well, who are gay....So you have these people from these different sorts of areas which is an infrastructure of things there. People...who have these sort of reputations within...movement stuff. So you have lots of power....But independent little things which were able to exist here, but had never sort of come together...there was no structure, institutional structure The Select Committee was not one of the demands we ever made. It was not something we had thought of. It was not something that S.C. had suggested. It was something which I think--which David sort of suggested as a cheap way of getting around the position. And, you know, I don't know if it was a way of distracting from the position. I don't know what it was. But I think that it was, in the long run, to our benefit, because it brought together these different sort of players who had never sort of interacted in that way (p. 9).

The other factor was the implied power that seemed to be vested in the Select Committee that it could use to advocate for change. The same student respondent, (#13), described it in the following manner.

And it gave it a structure and a legitimating function... It meant that someone like myself could call up the Director of International Student Services, the Heads of Housing, the Heads of Residential Life, all these different people, and say, "I want to meet with you." Gave us a budget so we could get a room and have--you know, have it for a luncheon or have it for, you know, something there. And they would show up! (p. 8-9).

Production of the report "In Every Classroom."

The most tangible result of the President's Select Committee's work was the production of the report "In Every Classroom." The strategic value of the report was attributed to its specificity, comprehensiveness, and its visionary quality. Many respondents believed that the report would function as the basis of a plan for transforming the university for many years to come. One faculty respondent, (#14), described its value:

Well, I think the positive is that you do have a report. You have a document which is, I think, very clear, very specific, that can be used as a blue print in terms of the making change...that there's now another level of awareness in terms of the capacity of the university to respond (p. 3).

Another faculty member, (#5), described the report's enormous potential.

There's like a time bomb buried in that report. If any of it was ever implemented, it would be...not revolutionary...but definitely reform. It's got a lot of policy changes buried in that report (p. 26).

For an administrator, (#4), the report's value was in the possibilities it raised and that it helped to envision what changes could or should be done.

what it does is also to sort of describe a map that may or may not get populated in the first year...first, second year. But it is sufficiently visionary... (in) that it establishes some set of possibilities....So, I think that's its genius, in some way ...is that it is a mapping...a cartographic kind of thing... (p.44)

A student , (#13), believed the report was action oriented; it not only discussed the problems, but provided concrete solutions.

all the rest of the recommendations are very specific. Very specific and done in this sort of bureaucratic style, so that the bureaucrats should know how to respond (p. 25).

When discussing how change happened at Rutgers respondents identified the existence of, and the process of the President's Select Committee, as well as the report it produced as key factors. It is not surprising that these two factors were mentioned so often. The literature on dealing with racism on campus sensitizes us to the importance of such factors. The ACE handbook, Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing

Diversity , recommends several steps to begin the process of enhancing racial diversity which were also in evidence in dealing with the issue of heterosexism at Rutgers. These steps are:

- *Get broad institutional involvement.* Form a broadly representative task force to develop an institution-wide agenda. This task force should have the full support of the president, report directly to the president, and be chaired by a highly respected member of the campus community.
- *Assign overall administrative responsibility to one individual.* This individual should be someone with the clout and resources to make things happen and hold people accountable. S/he should report directly to the president.
- *Take stock of where you are and where you would like to be.* Conduct an institutional assessment or audit as the first step in the process of enhancing diversity. Data should be gathered at all levels and from all facets of campus life; historical trends should be included.
- *Develop a plan.* This plan should serve as a blueprint for action.

The process of change with respect to lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers followed these initial suggestions. The President's Select Committee involved a broad cross-section of the University; it was chaired by a Dean and had the President's support. David Burns, Vice President for Student Life, who reported directly to the President was the "point person" for this effort. The President's Select Committee conducted a number of assessments and gathered a variety of data. Finally the report, "In Every Classroom" made a series of recommendations that respondents' believed could serve as a blueprint for action.

However, the ACE handbook mentions that this plan should include some very specific things: a *leadership statement* (a vision for what the institution can be like that is consistent with its overall goals and mission), *goals* (a set of concrete, quantitative and qualitative short-term and long-term goals), a *timetable* (set specific target dates for the

implementation of specific goals and monitor progress against this timetable), *mechanisms for conflict resolution* (be ready for the inevitable conflict that will emerge from any change process. It is important to have intact mechanisms to provide forums for resolution of conflicts), and *monitoring, accountability, and evaluation* (responsibility for each task must be assigned, and overall responsibility given to one person on campus). While “In Every Classroom” does include a vision for a Rutgers that is more welcoming and inclusive of lesbian and gay people, as well as a set of goals, the report does not include a timetable, mechanisms for conflict resolution, or a system for monitoring, accountability, and evaluation. In this sense it is not a comprehensive blueprint for action. In this regard perhaps it is a precursor to an actual plan, beginning the dialogue on lesbian and gay concerns rather than the comprehensive solution to these concerns.

If the President’s Select Committee and “In Every Classroom” were viewed as the primary vehicles for change at Rutgers, it is important to consider what factors or strategies led up to the formation of the Committee. In addition to the Select Committee and its report, respondents detailed many other factors or strategies they viewed as key to the change process. Most of these other factors were instrumental in the formation of the President’s Select Committee. Although respondents named over twenty discrete factors, most respondents believed the coming together of multiple factors resulted in change.

Involvement of prominent people

A factor, mentioned by four respondents, was the involvement of prominent people on the President’s Select Committee. Having well-known and well-respected people on the President’s Select Committee lent credibility and prestige to the effort. This contributed to the success of the President’s Select Committee. One prominent faculty member, (#9), said,

I was recruited. I think...to be candid about it...I think I was recruited because I'm regarded as a fair-minded person who has a broad interest in a lot of progressive movements on campus. I'm not an advocate of any one particular

group, nor am I identified with any one particular group, but my reputation is that of a scholar, teacher and good citizen. So I think I was recruited onto the committee as someone who could be reliable and to represent...how would one say...a kind of progressive middle ground or progressive high ground where...I don't want to say it would lend prestige to the effort...but would demonstrate that this is not something sort of off there, but very much at the center of concerns (p. 2).

In an academic context, it is important to have substantial faculty involvement. A student, (#13), described a strategic turning point in the process of forming the President's Select Committee,

Kate Stimpson at one point sort of said, came in and just sort of interjected herself and said, "Hey, you've gotta have some real serious heavyweight academics on this committee or it's not going to be taken seriously." I think the academic department would have been very different...she is someone who has a real credibility there...(p. 16)

Leadership

Leadership from a variety of sources was the factor respondents named most often. Leadership from students and the student organization RULGA, was named by twelve of the fourteen respondents as a primary factor in stimulating change. One administrator, (#3), remarked,

I think we were fortunate to have particularly articulate leadership among the gay and lesbian students, who came forward with their concerns and brought them to the attention of the proper people and then followed through on them (p. 2).

Another administrator, (#8), described RULGA as "...one of the most active groups in the nation, from what I gather...they seem to be a powerful, well-organized, well-run machine, as an organization"(p. 2). It was student activism that respondents pointed to, again and again, that initiated the change process. A faculty member, (#1), recalled,

the students wrote this strong letter to the President and it took a long time to get a response. They called out the press. And finally the President basically gave them everything they asked for save a full-time coordinator (p. 2).

Many respondents commented on the political savvy of the students. An administrator, (#4), commented,

RULGA...had a kind of a very good leadership team, consisting of Nieberding, who was not really in it, but who was quite a pusher, a sort of a general provocateur of this whole matter and...knows what he's doing (p. 5).

Leadership from faculty and staff members was cited by ten of the fourteen respondents. The leadership of two faculty members, Jim Anderson (Chair of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns) and Susan Cavin (author of the "Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual members of the Rutgers Community, New Brunswick, New Jersey"), were mentioned most often. Both of these faculty members, independently wrote letters to President Bloustein requesting action on issues of concern to lesbians and gay men. A faculty member, (#11), described Jim Anderson's letter to the President as an important action.

Jim Anderson's letter to President Bloustein was beautifully written. Diplomatically--just wonderfully written. He's got a way (p. 22).

An administrator, (#3), described Susan Cavin's role,

S.C. sent President Bloustein...this is my recollection of what happened...a copy of a report she did in her course "Homosexuality and Society" And she asked him...I forget what she asked him...she said, "This is the results of something. It requires some sort of attention and action" (p. 7)

Respondents frequently mentioned leadership or support from members of the administration. Eleven of the fourteen respondents believed that having allies in the administration was a key to change. A faculty member, (#1), described the top leadership's commitment, "...we also had a President who was very into these kinds of social issues..." (p. 2). A staff member, (#12), reinforced the notion that the President's vision was key,

I saw it is part of a large effort on the part of the President to take a look at how students were being educated and the kinds of things they were learning....This effort, as far as

lesbian and gay concerns, I think, goes along with a lot of the other things that he's done for the university as far as getting people involved in the community and getting people to look at ideas of diversity...whether it be minorities...anything...basically...and to live together as a community (p. 1).

A student, (#2), remarked that "...finding friends in the administration, political friends..."(p. 24), was a key factor in the change process. A faculty member, (#11), singled out the Vice President for Student Life, as particularly supportive.

David Burns has been wonderful support! On the administration. I mean, visible, strong. there's a lot that he didn't--he has expressed to me--that he did not understand what the gay issues were. And from this committee, he has learned things and he has a personal commitment to helping this. Which, you know, it's great to have an ally like this (p. 7).

Based on a review of the literature, it is not surprising that leadership was the most often mentioned factor in describing the change process. In the Introduction to the ACE handbook, Judith Eaton states, "Leadership, from the board of trustees and the president, is essential to deep and lasting change on campus. Without their symbolic and practical support, little enduring progress will occur" (p.viii). At Rutgers, it is unclear whether the President was pressured into taking leadership on lesbian and gay concerns, or personally predisposed to action on the issues. Respondents were mixed in their perceptions about this, but they were united in their view that the President did provide leadership on the issue. The Board of Trustees was not mentioned as playing either a supporting or limiting role.

We find further evidence for the importance of leadership in the article, "Processes of Academic Change," which states:

Innovation requires the stimulus of an individual or sometimes a small group as the catalyst and advocate of action. Every organizational change is linked to an individual change; and even if outside circumstances and outside sources of support provide the impetus for innovation, someone within the university must be its champion...this advocate of innovation sparks acceptance and galvanizes support for change...without advocacy, institutional redirection cannot occur (p. 3374).

This is a different view of leadership than Eaton's. This type of advocacy and leadership does not necessarily have to come from the top levels of the university.

At Rutgers, the person who emerged as "the champion," was a graduate student, Ron Nieberding. Many respondents mentioned Ron as the primary person who galvanized action. He worked with RULGA to empower its leadership and to strategize about how to get the administration to respond. He developed the basic strategy for the workings of the President's Select Committee, and he was largely responsible for keeping lesbian and gay concerns so visible. A faculty member, (#1), commented,

Ron took maximum advantage of the situation and he's had such experience at being a political zealot...(he) took full advantage and just ran with it...(p. 4).

A student (#2) concurred,

Ron is amazing as far as his connections and knowing how to get things publicized and get things in newspapers. And I attribute most everything to Ron and his skill at getting news out... press releases, calling newspapers, calling radios and televisions. Because it was that...he turned the media onto, "Hey, this is something happening" (p. 5).

It is important to note that the person who functioned as the catalyst for action at Rutgers did not have much institutional power, but did have substantial political experience. However, even with such a committed and skilled activist willing to take leadership on the issue, other factors needed to be present.

Proximity to New York City

Some of the factors that respondents mentioned had to do with the unique history and location of Rutgers, including its proximity to New York City. A faculty member, (#9), mentioned the greater openness at Rutgers due to the large lesbian and gay community in nearby New York City,

Rutgers is fairly fortunate, I think...first to be near a large metropolitan center where there's a lot of gay and lesbian activity, and to therefore to have a longer tradition and more openness. At the same time...and I think that's brought a lot

of people to Rutgers, partly by accident, but partly, perhaps, drawn by certain people they may have known here (p. 4).

Another faculty member, (#11), thought that the lesbian and gay liberation movement in New York City influenced the process of change at Rutgers.

We're right close to New York. There's a big political movement going on. There's a big gay liberation (movement) going on for the past few years. I mean, it's bound to hit...Rutgers. And I think that's what it is. That's what's affected anybody who's in proximity...(p. 5)

Rutgers' long history of lesbian and gay activism.

Another unique factor nine respondents commented on was Rutgers' long history of lesbian and gay activism. One of the students, (#2), believed that, "Just the fact that RULGA exists and has existed and has been a very strong group for twenty years" (p. 10), was a significant factor contributing to the current activity. A faculty member, (#14), also pointed to this long history,

Rutgers has the second oldest...or was it the first oldest... continuously active student group in the United States, which goes back twenty years. So there's been levels of activity for a very long time. (p. 1).

Foundation provided by Rutgers' non-discrimination clause

Another aspect of Rutgers' history that was mentioned by a number of the respondents was the foundation provided by Rutgers' longstanding, non-discrimination clause. One administrator, (#4), remarked,

We had great advantages, though, because we had, so early on, said we weren't gonna discriminate. And in that sense, we didn't have to do the fundamental legislation (p. 41).

A student, (#13), concurred,

the university had had early activity and an early commitment on some level to these sorts of issues, in terms of its non-discrimination policy...(p. 2)

Utilizing policies, rhetoric, and statements

The non-discrimination clause provided important pre-existing policy that the advocates for change at Rutgers utilized in their efforts. Using such policies, rhetoric, and statements was a strategy named by a number of respondents. One administrator, (#4), stated,

Well, first of all...for fifteen or seventeen years it said it's not gonna discriminate...paid lip service to that....It's a long time. It's more than recently...A; B: we have a lot of prominent gay people here, who you just can't look at and say, "We don't care about you.;" C: I think there are a lot of people who have fairly...not just liberal open-mindedness...but who feel very strongly about enlarging the nature of our culture (p. 17-18).

A student, (#13), also described how holding the administration accountable to statements it had made was one successful strategy,

You quote their rhetoric and then hold them up to it!" ...There were a couple of different levels, one was that public education-- it's a public institution. It's a democratic institution. It's expansive, it's inclusive that the university has historically brought new people in. (We) sort of demonstrated that was the history of the university. Going and making the argument that --that the state--and we are a state university--is increasingly becoming diverse. That we have to--there is a new politics which has to be developed to accommodate that diversity. The university's role is to educate people to participate in a diverse, contentious society. You cannot ignore gay people in society. You have to teach people to be able to sort of--to deal with that. So that was one thing--and the whole intellectual honesty,...scholarship, and all of that sort of argument. So I think that...you could go and tie it into that if you want. I think that Bloustein had also made some...some very positive statements (p. 26-27).

An administrator, (#4), expressed the value of using the pre-existing rhetoric and symbolic statements to advocate for change,

there was this real sort of, 'let's seize the moment...let's take advantage of this'. It's what I call lip service,...I really believe in lip service. Because, if I said to you, "I don't really care about gays and lesbians. I don't think they're different. I think it's very different than race." Then we have a whole other argument to have. But if I say to you, "You know, I desperately care about gays and lesbians." And you say, "Well, that sounds like lip service." Well you

have something to hang your next point on. "You say you want to fight bigotry and prejudice...then what are you doing about it?" And...where we got ourselves, was sort of in that position. In other words, I really believe in making symbolic statements, even if they're not absolutely true, because they show the leaning (p. 6-7).

The article, "Processes of Academic Change," stresses that successful academic change is usually framed in terms of "returning the university to its original principals and cherished values..." (p. 3375). Advocates of change at Rutgers University successfully framed their concerns in terms of pre-existing rhetoric. They utilized such symbolic statements to their advantage.

Focusing significant attention on the issue of harassment

Advocates of change were most successful at manipulating rhetoric to create substantial change by focusing significant attention on the issue of homophobic harassment. This was a strategy that nine of the fourteen respondents discussed. As Ingle (1988) points out, "One of the traditional values of a university campus centers on the notion that it is a special place of work and study," where, "individuals can pursue their work and education without fear of harassment or intimidation" (p. 1). Bringing homophobic harassment to the attention of members of the Rutgers administration made them confront the contradiction between their idealized view of the campus and the reality.

A number of respondents pointed to Susan Cavin's research on homophobic harassment as a catalyst for the process of change. Since 1985, S.C. had been attempting to study the problem of homophobic harassment in her class "Homosexuality and Society." In the Spring of 1987 she sent a copy of her report, the "Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey...", to President Bloustein. Many respondents perceived this as a primary event in instigating change. Soon after receiving the report, the President charged Vice President for Student Life, David Burns, to follow up on the issues highlighted by Cavin's report. Following a meeting between S.C. and Burns, the idea of forming a committee to further

investigate the problem was first considered by the administration. An administrator, (#3), reflecting on Susan Cavin's research remarked,

I think that's what began it. Then it was furthered by Dan Kaufman, Susan Bailmaier, Jim Anderson...saying, "Hey, what are we doing?" Actually, David and I and Ann Cosgrove met with S.C. in David's office, and we had a long discussion about it. Actually, some agreement was reached there that we will proceed and look into it further...which was quite a good meeting actually (p. 10).

A student, (#2), talked about how RULGA was "...very vocal about the harassments," and that the administration was "...interested and caring enough to listen" (p. 1).

Another student, (#13), described focusing attention on homophobic harassment as an intentional part of their strategy,

we did a couple of things which I think were sort of--were important to the success. One, we included specific instances--specific incidents....I had him (Dan Kaufman) go out and find, using their hot-line log and things, specific instances of harassment, bigotry, prejudice. We also had this study which had been done by S.C. in (her) "Homosexuality in Society" class, already there, using your rec--I mean, it lifted directly from you (p. 2).

Building upon the work done at other colleges and universities

Building upon the work done on lesbian and gay concerns at other colleges and universities was another factor that respondents mentioned as part of the successful strategy. It is interesting to note that most of the recommendations that Cavin included in the "Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Members of the Rutgers Community New Brunswick New Jersey," were largely taken verbatim from the report, "The Consequences of Being Gay: A Report on the Quality of Life for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst," (Yeskel, 1984) which was published three years earlier. A faculty member, (#5), talked about the Rutgers' study's recommendations,

which I had pilfered from you (Felice Yeskel)....I think I used a lot of your recommendations. And some of Herek's. And I guess some of ours. But it was mostly following

your two studies, trying to get the same thing that I thought you had up there (UMass, Amherst)...an Office of Lesbian/Gay Concerns (p. 8-9).

One administrator, (#3), said early on in the process, "...we called several universities and gathered information on what they were doing...all kinds of programs..." (p.13). The knowledge of what other universities had accomplished in the area of lesbian and gay concerns provided a model toward which Rutgers could strive.

Making connections between heterosexism and other oppression.

Focusing on and framing the issue as homophobic harassment was related to another key facet of their effective strategy; making the connection between heterosexism and other forms of oppression. Most respondents thought that this was an important way to frame the issue. For some respondents lesbian and gay issues were tied to feminist concerns. A student, (#13), gave voice to this viewpoint,

It seems to me...that gay stuff in the university usually sort of tags onto the--the coattails of women's studies and feminist stuff (p. 7).

Other respondents believed that lesbian and gay concerns were connected to other social issues by the issue of harassment. Harassment of all sorts was on the rise at Rutgers and this increase concerned the administration. One administrator, (#3), commented, "...there seems to be a general perception that people are being treated more shabbily. And that the university needs to do something about it" (p. 19).

President Bloustein launched the Common Purposes Campaign, which was intended "to do something about" harassment, specifically to deal with issues of racism and sexism at Rutgers. Many respondents thought that the Common Purposes effort was essential to getting administrative attention for lesbian and gay concerns. One staff member, (#8), stated, "...I would say a lot of it...happened because of the Common Purposes" (p.27).

Exclusion from Common Purposes proved to be a critical incident

However, President Bloustein's initial letter announcing the Common Purposes campaign did not include the issue of heterosexism. This exclusion proved to be a critical incident, galvanizing energy and action from the lesbian and gay community. Nine of the fourteen respondents pointed to this incident as a critical turning point in the process of change. A student, (#2), remembered the reaction of RULGA to this exclusion,

And when gay people were over-looked in President Bloustein's letter...of unity to the community...speaking out against racism and sexism...and forgetting homophobia... the people in charge said, "Oh my! We're being over-looked again? We're tired of this. Let's do something about it."
(p. 1)

An administrator, (#3), recalled, "...he had left out sexual orientation as an area. And that created a furor" (p.12).

Empowerment of the lesbian and gay community.

Other such exclusions of lesbian and gay concerns had no doubt happened in the past; however this time, the omission ignited immediate protest. A majority of respondents attributed this protest to the empowerment and pride of members of the lesbian and gay community. A student, (#2), described RULGA,

I think a lot of it had to do with the people who were in the organization at the time...being very proud of being gay and not wanting to be over-looked (p. 1).

Another student, (#13), remembered the process of deciding how to respond,

it was this whole issue, we talk about, of empowerment. I said, "Well, let's send it to Bloustein", okay, this new four-page, new improved letter. But "Let's also send it to all of the deans". And "Let's send it to all the school newspapers", 'cause there are like five or six different colleges that have school newspapers. Some are weekly, and there's the one daily, the two other ones on the two campuses. "Let's also send it to the Star Ledger and the Home News" (p. 3).

A number of different factors contributed to the empowered state of lesbian and gay students at that particular time. One factor was RULGA's recent participation in the

National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington which connected them to the larger lesbian and gay liberation movement. A second factor appeared to be Susan Cavin's class "Homosexual in Society," which provided support and leadership development for student activists. The support and empowerment provided by graduate student, activist, Ron Nieberding's work with RULGA was a final factor.

Lesbian and gay student speak out

Another successful strategy for change was having lesbian and gay students speak out about their experiences at Rutgers. Half of the respondents mentioned the Open Forum as a key factor in the change process. A faculty member, (#1), described the power of such personal testimony in motivating the administration to deal with lesbian and gay concerns.

when the student group got him over to this big meeting over in Douglas, and for several hours people stood up...and this is what I mean by the biggest thing we have going is people standing up, saying who they are and what they're going through...these kids, these students would get up for several hours, and told David face to face what they had gone through, their experiences. And then David had this conversion...I can't call it anything else (p. 4).

In addition the Open Forum gave the administration a sense of the wide-spread concern and support for lesbian and gay issue. A student, (#2), recounted,

When the open forum with David Burns happened, there were a hundred and fifty people there...which showed that they had community support and this was something, definitely, that people wanted (p. 4).

A faculty member, (#14), concurred,

I think the student protest around the original memos and the fact of the incidents. And then the students really pushing in terms of the meeting with the college administration...which the Vice President attended, not knowing there were going to be, like, two-hundred or so students there. And he really got a sense that this was an issue that the administration needed to pay attention to. I give students all the credit in this (p. 2).

The Open Forum functioned on a number of different levels simultaneously. The content of the speak-out educated administrators about the situation for lesbians and gays at Rutgers, and once they became aware of the situation, they felt compelled to act. The Open Forum was well covered in the media. This contributed to lesbian and gay concerns becoming more visible at Rutgers, and such increased visibility in itself constituted change. Finally, the Open Forum alerted the administration to the fact that there was a large, well-organized, constituency with which it needed to reckon.

Increased visibility

Respondents often named increased visibility as another factor that contributed to change at Rutgers. A student, (#2), said the most significant factor was just, "...a lot of initiative taken by the campus organization to become more visible and political..."(p. 1).

An administrator, (#4), talked about the power of making the issue visible,

I think the overwhelming sense that I have is what I've been saying all along. And that is that...getting this topic out of the closet has been the most...making it imperative and safe and alright, or important, or whatever...to discuss this as a central part of the university's sense of itself...I think is probably the most important dimension (p. 34).

A faculty member, (#11), also viewed visibility, in itself, as a key strategy "...I expressed this a million times when I was on the Select Committee. That the most important first step is visibility" (p. 9). A student, (#13), also talked about the legitimating function served by making lesbian and gay concerns more visible.

our feeling was, is that you have to keep this as a dialogue. You have to keep the debate up around this issue. And that's really the solution to the whole problem, is to keep this being discussed and to "legitimate" it, and to constantly remind people that this is an official university concern (p. 14).

An administrator, (#4), stated that the mere fact that the issue became public and was of concern to the University was the primary factor in creating change.

I think, in the willingness to talk about it, write about it, take important people and ask them to be on a committee about it...was probably the fundamental thing that created change (p. 35).

That nine of the fourteen respondents mentioned visibility as a key factor is not surprising. The literature review established the clear link between lesbian and gay visibility and health for individuals. Respondents at Rutgers believed that lesbian and gay visibility was a necessary factor for organizational growth, as well. Well known psychologist, Betty Berzon, (1979) indicates that visibility is a key factor in institutional change for lesbian and gay people. She states, "The changes that are needed in social policies and in laws in order to improve the quality of life for gay people will come only when there is a political and economic gay constituency that is visible and identifiable" (p. 11). The data from the Rutgers' respondents adds weight to Berzon's claim.

Skillful use of the media

One of the primary ways that lesbian and gay concerns achieved increased visibility at Rutgers was through the skillful use of the media. Eight of the fourteen respondents described media exposure as a major factor in bringing about change. A student, (#13), described their success in getting issues covered.

The media went sort of crazy on harassment and, you know, sensationalized it, got a lot of attention, television, radio, national stuff (p. 3).

An administrator, (#3), attributed the willingness of the administration to meet with the students and to act so swiftly on their concerns to media attention.

Dan Kaufman...felt frustrated and upset that they were not getting anything from the university. And they lobbied in the press and created a presence and said that this is troubling. And as a result, David met with meetings called by RULGA. David met with them and a discussion took place, etc. And it moved forward more quickly after that (p. 9).

A student, (#2), viewed the media exposure as focusing national attention on Rutgers which forced the administration to act.

They didn't have a choice. Because of the way Ron and Dan and the media and everything was just behind it saying, "This is something going on."....I think it had a lot to do with the media exposure. I'm not sure if I'm harping on that too much. But because it was so widely publicized...that it was in some national newspapers and a lot of gay newspapers and stuff...all eyes were here. And Bloustein couldn't ignore that (p. 8).

An administrator, (#6), talked about the political pressure that the media attention brought to bear on the administration.

So, they (RULGA) were able to bring--they wrote their letter, and they were able to bring a lot of media attention, press conferences and stuff. And so, they put him in a position that he had to respond...Bloustein...he was a politician...he was a media animal. He did respond to media (p. 6).

A student, (#13), believed that the media attention was so central, that change may not have happened without it

If I, you know, we didn't make a big media push and just badger reporters about that letter, I don't think it would have happened (p. 16).

Respondents believed media attention was a significant factor in getting a positive administrative response. Media attention forced administrative cooperation by applying the power of bad publicity. In this sense this strategy falls within the "social action" category described by Rothman (1974), the "power-coercive" category defined by Chin and Benne (1972) or the "political perspective" described by Crowfoot and Chessler (1974). Through the skillful and successful use of media attention, advocates at Rutgers were able to pressure their administration into decisive action.

Cultural change

Respondents also named cultural change as another factor, closely related to increased visibility. Respondents talked about the importance of recognizing that lesbian and gay people have a culture, and of including this culture in the daily life of the campus. A faculty member, (#11), talked about the power of this type of incremental inclusiveness.

Because I'm interested in not bringing the lesbian and gay issues politically to my creative arts community, but more-- here is a culture that you must include. By just giving it more visibility in everything, then gradually...it will create change and...people will ask more questions. This was very well received. Because it was just integrated into the other cultures. As a culture. And nobody questions that it was a culture....Cheryl is doing a wonderful thing, because she is showing the culture, a community that has a culture, that has a past and has something creative to offer. And just by having these programs, just having the visibility, the fliers and--it's something that's happening (p. 9).

An administrator, (#4), agreed that significant change happened through a gradual changing of the campus norms and culture.

And my view is that I think there's an area ...where I tend to agree more with Anderson and don't agree with Nieberding. And that is that Nieberding would like to soon show up in a Cadillac, you know, so that everybody knows this is the...my sense is that that only triggers off problems, usually, and that what you need to do is to get things to begin to reside in an organization. And this is an area in which people generally feel very uncomfortable, and I think what you need is someone to help them feel uncomfortable with the parts of themselves that harm other people, and to begin to feel a certain amount of space, or whatever, in which they can... My view is that if you talk about it enough, it doesn't seem so exotic...It's a kind of a gradualist perspective (p. 12-13).

Because people often feel uncomfortable with lesbian and gay issues, slowly but regularly making lesbian and gay concerns a part of the campus culture facilitates change. A number of respondents mentioned the change of language at Rutgers as evidence of the changed culture of the campus. A faculty member, (#5), described this phenomenon,

Well, one good thing that's come out of this report already is...the word "homophobia" has fallen into the language of the most peculiar people, who would never have used that language at all, and never knew what it meant. I noticed it mostly among straight students, who are like dorm counselors and all that. They're putting on programs. They stand up in my class and say they want to make an announcement. And they talk about homophobia and how they're having a program on it. And I think...this is a result of our work, because I never heard this, I never saw this before. And so that happens in the newspapers too. And in classes and in the dorms. Like, the students are picking up on it (p. 5).

An administrator, (#4), described this type of slow, wide-spread, cultural change as "atmospheric change."

Increased scholarly activity in lesbian and gay studies

Another source of change named by respondents was the academic arena. Respondents described the increased scholarly activity in lesbian and gay studies as a significant contributing factor to the improved conditions for lesbians and gays at Rutgers. Interdisciplinary research on lesbian and gay studies became more widely respected, and grassroots interest in lesbian and gay studies in many academic disciplines "reached a critical mass." A faculty member, (#9), described this process,

the question of recognizing gay and lesbian studies as a viable and, in fact, very positive contribution, has sort of reached that point where it's desirable and legitimate to give these expression (p. 3).

Concentration of lesbian and gay faculty in prominent positions.

A student, (#13), talked about the significant concentration of lesbian and gay faculty members in prominent positions.

There is this really active presence in terms of academically...in history and in English,...the two pillar departments in the non-sciences, you have gay faculty members in English,...the chair of the English department...and one of these named professorships, is gay...head of the French department...so these are academic stars...the dean of the Graduate School....So you've got--you've got this sort of strong group of people who are considered the leaders, intellectually, who--if they're not (gay)--they're at least supportive. And they do not look at it as skeptically, I think, intellectually, as it would be at other sorts of places (p. 7).

While these faculty members, department chairs, and deans may not have been actively involved in the work of the President's Select Committee, their prominence on campus and support for lesbian and gay studies played a role in the overall effort.

Educating people through direct contact with lesbians and gay men

Educating a variety of people through direct contact with lesbians and gay men was another factor contributing to change. A student leader, (#10), described the experience of attending a meeting where lesbians and gay men talked about their concerns.

I didn't realize the type of events that were happening. And I never really thought about it. I never really put on the shoes of someone in that kind of position. And I really didn't have any understanding of the problems that the gay and lesbian community at Rutgers feels. And it just opened my eyes to that and I really could totally sympathize, empathize, whatever the word is (p. 4).

Other respondents also talked about the power of direct, personal contact with lesbians and gay men for educating members of the campus community and for creating allies. An administrator, (#1), recalled,

Well, I tell you, this may be more of a tactic than anything. But,...people sitting down with people in positions of influence and authority, has seemed to be the most effective way. I mean, the Vice President in charge of Public Safety, we sat down with her and laid it out, and ever since we've been great friends (p. 26).

This type of approach to change assumes that people in positions of power are ignorant of lesbian and gay concerns, and that once they are made aware of the issues, they will take action to ameliorate the problems. A faculty member, (#5), held this view of Bloustein, describing him in the following manner, "...he really was kind of ignorant about homophobia, and up on racism. So I thought if he was made aware, he would respond" (p. 6).

Various theorists have organized strategies for social change into different general categories. Educating people through direct contact fall into the "human relations" category described by Baldrige (1971), "collaborative strategies" defined by Warren (1971), or Chin and Benne's (1972) "normative-re-educative" category. Change strategies that these theorists placed in these categories are micro-level, individually-focused and process-oriented. The goals of these strategies tend to focus on improved relationships and reduced

conflict as the means to change. Change advocates at Rutgers used some of these strategies.

Training activists

Training activists was another type of educational activity that respondents named as playing a role in the process of change. Four respondents mentioned this as an important factor. One vehicle for such training was the class, "Homosexuality and Society," which helped to develop the leadership and consciousness of students in RULGA. Students in the class would participate in various projects focusing on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers, thereby gaining valuable skills and expertise. Many respondents used the term "empowerment" to describe this process. Another more subtle way in which students became empowered was by working with others with more political expertise. Ron Nieberding, as a graduate student and seasoned activist, played this role for students in RULGA, meeting with them regularly to discuss different strategy and tactics. Although there were different vehicles for such empowerment, the development of experienced activists was an important factor in change at Rutgers.

Advocates "political know-how"

A related factor that most respondents mentioned as a key factor in the successful change process was the "political know-how" of advocates for change. Many of the members of the President's Select Committee were individuals with substantial experience in working for social change, both on campus and in the wider community. The brief biosketches of the members of the President's Select Committee published in Appendix L of "In Every Classroom," reveal that work within the larger lesbian and gay liberation movement accounted for much of this social change experience.

Lesbian and gay pride

In addition to their political expertise, many committee members had a sense of lesbian and gay pride. Perhaps because of their experience within the larger lesbian and gay liberation movement, many of the members of the President's Select Committee were at an advanced stage of gay identity formation. They felt empowered and committed to creating change for lesbians and gay men, strongly identified with each other, and worked very hard. One faculty member, (#11), described it as feeling like a "family."

the minute we got the together, the very first time, it was like a family. 'Cause on committees, it's not like this. It was like we all had a personal stake in this, and we all wanted to work personally. It was a matter of personal concern. Because most of the people on the committee were gay....So I think that helped things move fast, too. It wasn't just the organization; it was, when something is really personal and you're compassionate about it, things happen! And I didn't miss one meeting. Not one (p. 3).

In response to open-ended questions about how or why change occurred, respondents named many significant factors in the process of change on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers. The following table provides a summary of factors respondents named as contributing to the process of change.

Table 3. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CHANGE

Creation of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns

Production of the report "In Every Classroom"

Involvement of prominent people

Leadership

Proximity to New York City

Rutgers' long history of lesbian and gay activism

Foundation provided by Rutgers' non-discrimination clause

Utilizing policies, rhetoric, and statements

Focusing significant attention on the issue of harassment

Building upon the work done at other colleges and universities

Making connections between heterosexism and other oppression

Exclusion from Common Purposes proved to be a critical incident

Empowerment of the lesbian and gay community

Lesbian and gay student speak out

Increased visibility

Skillful use of the media

Cultural Change

Increased scholarly activity in lesbian and gay studies

Significant concentration of lesbian and gay faculty in prominent positions

Education people through direct contact with lesbians and gay men

Training activists

Advocates' "political know-how"

Lesbian and gay pride

Responses to Specific Questions

The second part of the interview asked about specific factors, (See Appendix E for complete Interview Guide). Respondents answers to questions about the specific areas of leadership, pressure tactics, education, research, critical incidents, external factors, work at other colleges and universities, and work on other issues of oppression at Rutgers will be considered next.

Leadership

Here respondents reiterated the importance of leadership at all levels in creating change. They had identified leadership most often in response to the open-ended questions, as well. The literature also emphasizes the necessity of strong leadership.

Leadership was exercised both by those in leadership positions (President Bloustein and Vice President David Burns), as well as by those without much institutional power. One upper-level, administrator, (#4), who believed that those without institutional power were able to make change, stated,

No positions at Rutgers have particularly much clout. And I really am a firm believer that authority consists of exercising authority (p. 3).

This view of leadership, which was in evidence at Rutgers, is a hopeful one for would-be advocates for lesbian and gay concerns who may lack institutional power.

Pressure Tactics

Respondents were asked about a variety of tactics including demonstrations, petitions, media exposure, and demands. No respondent mentioned demonstrations. The use of petitions was only mentioned only once. However, having clear and specific demands was mentioned by some respondents as an important factor. As they did in response to the open-ended questions, most respondents talked about the critical role media exposure and fear of bad publicity played in getting prompt and significant action from the Rutgers

administration. One administrator, (#3), talked about both the negative publicity and the advocates use of demands.

I think the tactics used by the gays and lesbians were absolutely appropriate and effective...the gay and lesbian community got the media...they mobilized a lot of support and a lot of energy behind it.....Creating a negative image of the university...focusing the attention on what the university should be doing that they're not, and providing the university with a set of alternatives which they can address (p. 43).

A number of respondents mentioned the Open Forum as an example of a pressure tactic that was successful in getting administrative action. In fact, the use of pressure tactics played a central role in the process of change at Rutgers.

Education

Respondents were asked about specific tactics such as courses, training, and the use of written materials. It is surprising that of all the strategies, education was mentioned least. A few respondents said that the substantial media coverage served as an educational vehicle for the community. One respondent thought that the survey research that was done as part of the President's Select Committee's work also educated those surveyed.

Although many respondents talked about how important education was to changing prejudice, very few thought education, in the traditional sense of courses, trainings, or written materials, had played an important role in change at Rutgers. In contrast, in response to the open-ended questions, more respondents mentioned the value of one-on-one meetings with lesbians and gay men, as well as the Open Forum in educating the Rutgers community. Overall, it seems that purely traditional educational strategies were not seen as significant.

Research

In general, respondents had a difficult time understanding what was meant by "systematic investigation and theory." When they understood the question to mean

research about lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers, most respondents thought that this was extremely significant. Many more respondents mentioned the research done by Susan Cavin's class as a significant tactic or strategy than they did in response to the open-ended questions. For most respondents, however, it was the political use to which this research was put, not the research in and of itself, that was critical. In this sense, documenting and publicizing the extent of homophobic harassment may have functioned more as a pressure tactic. A faculty member, (#5), described how this research was utilized to pressure the administration,

Making it public...that was my strategy and I think it worked...making the homophobic violence public. Putting it in the newspaper. Embarrassing the university. Making them feel that the press...the college press and the outside press...was interested in the violence that was happening here. And that they better get interested too, or there would be more bad publicity (p. 34).

When they understood the question to mean theoretical work in the area of lesbian and gay studies, most respondents believed that this was a marginal factor in the change process. A couple of respondents mentioned theoretical frameworks which made connections among different social issues as useful in developing their change rhetoric.

Critical Incidents

At many colleges and universities attention to social issues follows a critical event, often some form of harassment. Respondents at Rutgers were asked about whether a critical incident, defined as "concern for safety," was a catalyst for change. Almost no respondents pointed to a particular incident of harassment as the catalyst for change. However, many respondents believed concern for the safety of lesbian and gay students was a primary motivator of change. A number of respondents responded to this question by defining critical incidents more broadly than concern for safety. One critical incident mentioned many times was the exclusion of heterosexism, as a concern, from President Bloustein's Common Purposes letter. Many respondents believed that this single incident sparked the

process of change. One respondent named the Open Forum, where stories of homophobic harassment were aired, as a critical incident. Another named the media attention received as a critical incident. From the open-ended questions it is clear that framing the issues in terms of homophobic harassment was significant. Susan Cavin's work in documenting the scope of homophobic harassment was also seen as a crucial factor. While no one homophobic incident catalyzed this process, it does seem that concern for safety was a key factor. It also appears that there may have been discrete critical incidents, although not incidents of harassment. Perhaps defining a critical incident as an incident of homophobic harassment was too narrow. It may have been more useful to ask two separate questions: "Was there one critical incident that catalyzed change around lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers?" and "Did concern for the safety of lesbians and gay men play a central role in the change process at Rutgers?"

External Factors

During the focused part of the interviews, possible external factors that were suggested to respondents included the wider community context, legal statutes, and the AIDS epidemic. Compared with their responses to the open-ended questions, many more respondents believed that the community context was significant factor when they were asked directly. A faculty member, (#9), replied, "I think that is...again, my analysis is probably too academic...but I really see this as a product of forces larger than Rutgers" (p. 16). The lesbian and gay liberation movement was the most often named external factor. Legal statutes were not seen as significant by any of the respondents. A few respondents attributed the apparent rise in homophobia to the AIDS epidemic, but surprisingly few of the respondents mentioned AIDS as a factor in precipitating change at Rutgers. One administrator, (#3), remarked, "Surprisingly, I haven't heard that the AIDS crisis has exacerbated things here. I would have expected that it did" (p. 46).

Other Colleges and Universities

Respondents were asked whether Rutgers was influenced by what was happening on other campuses, and if so, how. Most respondents thought the activity about lesbian and gay concerns on other campuses played a significant role in the process of change at Rutgers. The impact of activities on other campuses was experienced in a variety of ways. Some of the students at RULGA had been students at other campuses and had experienced more supportive environments. One administrator, (#3), said, "...I think that RULGA was in touch with that and that they knew what was happening around the country" (p. 47). This gave them a vision that more was possible. Students, faculty, and staff attended various conferences where they networked with people from other campuses. They were often inspired by the reports they heard and the connections they made. One faculty member, (#5), reflected on a Northeast Lesbian and Gay Student Union Conference,

Columbia had a conference...I went to that and spoke at it about the first study, along with Kevin Berril of the Gay Task Force. And through that, connected with him....And connected with other people there. I think the networking. And then I've gone up to Yale a couple of times,...to their annual conference around that center. And hooked up with them. And I always let David Burns know that I was getting...and it was true...I was getting tremendous interest from other universities. And from Time Magazine. I was interviewed by Time about this. And at key points I always kept calling him to let him know that there was a lot of interest at other universities in what was happening here. I think that's critical....Because it makes the administrators at your school know that other people are watching them... other universities, good universities, are watching them. And they care very much about that....It helped the students to feel that they were a part of something bigger. And it helped me too...because I have felt very alone here, on gay issues, in the eighties. But that spiritual connection with other schools, and with the real movement...what I consider the real movement...always gave me the strength to do what I had to do here. And I think that helped my students too ...knowing those things. That they were not alone (p. 9).

In addition to the concrete models, research, and resources they could borrow, advocates at Rutgers were able to use what was happening on other campuses as leverage for creating

change. Many respondents talked about competition between universities as a prime motivator for change. An administrator, (#6), described this phenomenon,

Rutgers wants to be seen as a major institution. And some major institutions were dealing with the--like your institution, you know, like California, Yale. Kent StateThere was a competitive thing....other institutions said,....it's possible for you to do this and still maintain your prestige. It's possible for you to do this. So, I think that that was a great influence here....More important than the prestige were real--you all were real resources. You know, you said in a real practical way, this can be and should be done....Other models. Well, I mean, your own instrument was a model for S.C which, you know, she replicated here. I mean, that was the beginning (p. 25-26).

Another administrator, (#4), talked about the value of being able to be part of a trend, because if Rutgers were to get out ahead of other campuses it might be perceived as having problems.

It helped to be able...we were in this dilemma of wanting to say we were unique, but...we were standing on your shoulders at the University of Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania, or Michigan....But, it really helped to be able to say that you're not alone....But the issue becomes...why are you dealing with alcohol? Do you have a special problem on your campus? And the only thing I can say good about Nancy Reagan and people like that, in regard to the whole drug thing, was that she generalized it. She made it an issue that everybody could sort of admit to. I think when that happens on gay and lesbian things, you'll see a thousand flowers bloom. And what is gonna happen is, is that there's gonna have to be a critical mass of substantial places that begin to take this seriously. And it will make it safe for other people too. On all controversial issues...date rape... everything like that...it's the same. It's a question of who's gonna go out there first and admit something (p. 41).

In response to this specific question, many more respondents thought that work on other campuses on lesbian and gay concerns played a significant role than mentioned this factor in response to the open-ended questions. The work on other campuses was important because it normalized the issue of lesbian and gay concerns; it provided both a vision and concrete resources that advocates at Rutgers could utilize, and provided some political leverage that advocates applied.

The Impact of Other Issues of Oppression at Rutgers

Respondents were asked whether and how the work on other social issues at Rutgers influenced work on lesbian and gay concerns. Overwhelmingly, respondents believed that work on other social issues played a significant role in the change process. A faculty member, (#5), unequivocally believed that previous work on issues of racism and sexism at Rutgers was essential to the change effort on lesbian and gay concerns.

The work on racism, at Rutgers, laid the groundwork....I don't think we could have done it without the previous groundwork that people had done on anti-racism and anti-sexism (p. 41).

An administrator, (#3), in referring to the work done on racism and sexism, remarked,

I think they served as models. I think people's thinking developed from those issues and expanded to cover an issue that should have been covered from the start, but wasn't (p. 48).

Most respondents believed that making connections between homophobic harassment and racist, sexist, and anti-Semitic harassment was important. They believed that the Common Purposes Campaign, which focused initially on concerns about racist, sexist, and ethnic harassment, was instrumental to the process of change on lesbian and gay issues.

An administrator, (#4), described how advocates built on the situation of other social groups, "...they didn't set themselves up as sort of opposing...they tried to analogize their situation to the situation of other groups. I think that was smart" (p. 40). This tactic was viewed as successful both in terms of helping to raise consciousness and in leveraging institutional attention. Many respondents said work on other issues of oppression served as models for lesbian and gay concerns. One faculty member, (#9), described this tactic in terms of interest group politics in the United States.

The whole idea here is sort of interest group politics, isn't it? I mean...this is yet another group standing up for itself, making certain demands on the community, standing alongside other groups sometimes, in alliance, sometimes not. Yeah. I think this is the established norm of American politics....We don't have a real politics in the sense of a real

civic community, so we...people operate through these pressure groups (p. 17).

The vast majority of respondents, both in response to the open-ended questions and to this specific question, believed making connections between lesbian and gay concerns and other social issues appeared to be of central importance.

The data from respondents' answers to the specific questions revealed that respondents viewed education as the least significant factor. Respondents perceived external factors, research, and critical incidents as moderately significant, while leadership, pressure tactics, work on other campuses and Rutgers' work on other social issues were viewed as the most salient.

Discussion and Summary

The organizational development literature stresses that, the primary condition for successful organizational change is the perception on the part of individuals in the organization that there is a problem, and further that the benefits of the solution are likely to outweigh its liabilities. Advocates for change at Rutgers were quite successful in focusing attention on lesbian and gay concerns and making the community aware that there was a problem. They documented and publicized the scope of homophobic harassment at Rutgers. To gain acceptance that a problem existed, advocates made connections between the issue of heterosexism and other social issues. Getting the ear of the President through such tactics as letter writing, one-on-one meetings with upper-level administrators, and speaking out on their experiences at the Open Forum, were also important to drawing attention to the problem.

Change advocates also highlighted the problem by successfully raising the contradictions between the university's view of itself, as a safe, liberal institution, and the reality of life for lesbians and gay men. John D'Emilio (1990), a prominent gay activist and professor from North Carolina captures this idealized view of the University held by many. He says, "For reasons that I cannot quite fathom, I still expect the academy to embrace

higher standards of civility, decency, and justice than the society around it " (p. 18). This dissonance between administrators' perceptions of Rutgers and the emerging reality may have added a sense of poignancy to the problem.

Advocates did not expect awareness of the problem, alone, to create change. They used media exposure to pressure for change. Using the threat of negative publicity, they made not dealing with the issue more costly than dealing with it. Advocates were able to show that there were no significant liabilities incurred from actively dealing with lesbian and gay concerns by citing the examples of other colleges and universities that were successfully engaged in that process. This also helped to normalize the issue, and framed dealing with lesbian and gay concerns on campus as a positive process that other "good schools" were doing.

Homophobic harassment had existed at Rutgers for a long time. The numerous incidents at the DKE fraternity as well as the many incidents documented in Susan Cavin's research could have provided many opportunities for such a comprehensive response. What factors were present at this time that may have been absent earlier?

The lesbian and gay community at Rutgers was sufficiently empowered and organized to demand change. Students had strong, proud, and politically sophisticated leadership. Such leadership was both serendipitous and consciously developed. Events occurring in the wider community such as the National Lesbian and Gay Rights March on Washington contributed to the sense of power and entitlement felt by the students. Simultaneously, lesbian and gay faculty and staff were raising concerns of their own. Having faculty and staff allies increased the students' power.

Equally significant was the increasing concern with social issues and various forms of harassment both at Rutgers and on campuses across the country. The concern with a resurgence of racism on campus was frequently documented in newspapers and magazines, on television, and in higher education journals, such as *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. At Rutgers this increasing concern culminated in the Common Purposes

Campaign launched by President Bloustein. This focus on issues of race, ethnicity, and gender paved the way for advocates to demand attention to the issue of sexual orientation.

Almost all respondents mentioned a number of factors to describe how or why change on lesbian and gay concerns occurred at Rutgers. While some factors or conditions affecting change, named by respondents, were outside the conscious control of advocates, many factors were intentionally chosen. Advocates did not rely on one type of strategy for creating change, but utilized a variety of strategies and tactics, avoiding the pitfalls addressed by Havelock (1971) and Lindquist (1974). Additional support for this multiple strategy approach can be found in the article, "Processes of Academic Change," which states, "All the evidence to date indicates that no single approach to academic innovation is adequate; successful educational change requires effort on several fronts, at various levels, and by many means" (p. 3375). The evidence of multiple approaches used by change advocates at Rutgers clearly supports this contention.

Strategies for change used by advocates at Rutgers fall into both the "power-coercive" and the "normative-re-educative" categories defined by Chin and Benne (1972). Some approaches grouped under the "normative-re-educative" category involve the "releasing and fostering growth in the persons who make up the system to be changed" The underlying assumptions, here, are that the individual is the basic unit of intervention and that individuals are capable of growing in cooperative, life-affirming directions if blocks are removed. The change agent is an aid to growth. Strategies of this type, "emphasize norms of openness of communication, trust between persons, lowering of status barriers between parts of the system, and mutuality between parts as necessary conditions of the re-educative process" (p. 37). Advocates utilized many strategies that appear to fall into this category including; letter writing to administrators, one-to-one meetings with administrators, the Open Forum, and getting key people to be part of the President's Select Committee. One administrator, (#4), described why it was important to get leaders from key departments involved in the Select Committee's work.

It's very different...if you sit through this process, you will change. If I send you the report about your department, you won't change (p. 21).

This comment highlights the value of the "normative-re-educative" approach as a critical element in the process of change. This type of strategy underscores that contact with lesbians and gays may help others to better understand the needs of real individuals who are experiencing pain and oppression due to lack of institutional protection and affirmation.

"Power-coercive" strategies focus on political, economic, and moral power. These strategies "...seek to mass political and economic power behind the change goals which the strategists of change have decided are desirable" (p. 40). Through the process of consciousness-raising and organizing advocates were successful at developing a constituency and demonstrating mass support for their concerns. This support was demonstrated through wide-spread letter writing, the large turn-out for the Open Forum, extensive press coverage, and having a solid group of lesbians and gay men in prominent positions within the University. The "power-coercive" view of change asserts that when people are confronted with an unfair or unjust system of social control one means for them to "dramatize their rejection of the system" is by "publicly and non-violently witnessing and demonstrating against it." (p. 41). Advocates at Rutgers did this by publicizing a negative image of the University through wide-spread press coverage. According to the "power-coercive" approach, change can happen because of appeal to moral values, direct economic sanctions or threat of sanctions, such as boycotts or strikes which function to exert pressure for change. The negative publicity which was generated could have potentially resulted in lost revenue for Rutgers, as well as a loss of prestige.

In some cases there was evidence to support viewing a strategy as both "normative-re-educative" and "power-coercive." An example of a strategy that could fall into either category was the Open Forum. It appears that Vice President David Burns was personally changed as a result of what he heard at the Open Forum. Many respondents stated that he was transformed into an ally of the lesbian and gay community after this event. Other re-

spondents believed the Open Forum was significant because it clearly demonstrated to the Rutgers administration that lesbians and gay men were a large, well-organized, and angry constituency capable of generating negative press coverage. Some respondents believed that this demonstration of potential, political power provided the pressure necessary to motivate administrative action.

Advocates at Rutgers utilized strategies from both types of approaches to their advantage. However, most respondents believed that the use of media pressure was a necessary factor in generating such a comprehensive response. It is possible that “normative-re-educative” approaches alone would have been insufficient. The skill of strategizing for change involves deciding when to use which type of approach. Perhaps such strategy skills were in evidence because of the political experience of many of the Rutgers advocates.

While the success of the change effort on lesbian and gay concerns was tied to work other social issues, it is important to pay attention to what is unique about lesbian and gay issues. For example, when dealing with issues of race and gender, visibility is rarely an issue, as people of color and women are usually visible. However, in the case of lesbian and gay concerns, increased visibility in and of itself, proved to be a major change factor. The mere act of “coming out” as lesbian or gay can educate others by contradicting myths and stereotypes. Lesbian and gay people continue to be stigmatized and invisible; therefore increasing visibility tends to normalize the lesbian and gay experience and increase acceptance.

Lesbian and gay visibility, however, requires significant risks on the part of the people “coming out.” An administrator, (#4), expressed this double bind, “...coming out of the closet, probably, is the best prophylaxis against homophobia in an odd way... although it does expose you to certain kind of risks” (p. 13). “Coming out” publicly occurs at a later stage of identity development; some lesbians and gay men never get to this stage. Faculty and staff may be further along in their process of lesbian or gay identity de-

velopment, although they may be more reluctant to take the risks involved than students. On the other hand, students may be more able or willing to risk "coming out," while in college, but they are often at the early stages of dealing with their identities as lesbians or gay men. At Rutgers there were sufficient faculty, staff, and students willing to "come out," and increase the visibility of lesbian and gay concerns.

There is another way in which lesbian and gay concerns differ from issues of race and gender. Due to the possibility of remaining invisible, there are a significant number of lesbian and gay faculty and staff members, some of who have made it into positions of authority. An administrator, (#4), discussed this phenomenon, stating the faculty was,

filled with gay people...compared to Blacks or women. Gays have done better at Cornell than women have, I would assume. And the interesting thing is that they didn't get better because they were gay...they probably would have lost out if they had said they were gay. But the plain fact is, they got power. And women don't. And Blacks don't. And here, Hispanics absolutely don't (p. 16).

Many of these lesbian and gay faculty and staff people, especially those in positions of power, primarily remain "in the closet." Such faculty and staff can function as allies. However, it is also possible that "closeted" lesbians and gays in prominent positions can function in a more reactionary manner. They can view the focus on lesbian and gay concerns as a threat to their safety, so they may resist and sabotage change efforts. Their existence at Rutgers, however, was mentioned, by some respondents, as a factor contributing to change. If they played a role at all, closeted lesbian and gay faculty and staff appeared to function as behind the scenes allies.

The data provide clear evidence that institutional change on lesbian and gay concerns took place at Rutgers. Whether this process can truly be called organizational development or multicultural organizational development, however, remains an open question. Using Michael McGill's definition of organizational development as "a conscious, planned process of developing an organization's capabilities so that it can attain and sustain an optimum level of performance as measured by efficiency, effectiveness, and

health..." (p. 3), it appears not. The on-going, structures and processes of Rutgers themselves were not changed. Therefore, it seems unlikely that sustained efficiency, effectiveness, and health in the area of lesbian and gay concerns will occur. One faculty respondent, (#5), predicted, "I have deep fears that nothing (more) is gonna happen...without another central thrust from the activists leading the charge" (p. 12). Such evidence suggests that what happened at Rutgers was not a case of organizational development, but organizational change. Organizational change seems a necessary first step toward the process of organizational development. Rutgers is still to be commended as one of the handful of colleges and universities that has undertaken significant change on lesbian and gay concerns.

Can the changes that occurred at Rutgers on a social diversity concern be described as multicultural organizational development? Using Jackson's (1991) articulation of multicultural organizational development as involving three interactive components: a system approach, strong leadership, and support activities we can reflect on this question. A system change approach would require a focus on an organizations' mission & values, structure, technology, management style, and culture with respect to lesbian and gay issues. Leadership that articulates a multicultural agenda and mission inclusive of lesbian and gay concerns is another critical component. Finally, grassroots support activities designed to raise consciousness of heterosexism and homophobia, get the lesbian and gay agenda out, and keep these issues alive are also critical.

The data suggest Rutgers was strongest in the area of support activities. The advocates for change successfully put lesbian and gay concerns on the Rutgers agenda. Skillful use of the media, the student speak out, letters to the President, and meetings with upper level administrators succeeded in raising consciousness and getting the issue out. The on-going work of the President's Select Committee kept the issue alive and visible during the eighteen months of its operation.

Whether the leadership of Rutgers really articulated an inclusive multicultural vision is questionable. The Common Purposes effort which initially excluded lesbian and gay concerns indicates some ambivalence about fully embracing this social group in a multicultural agenda. Furthermore, some respondents even questioned the extent of Rutgers leadership's real commitment on issues of race and gender. At best the leadership might be described as responsive to pressure from the lesbian and gay community, rather than proactive. While responsive leadership is better than nothing, it hardly seems to qualify as strong leadership articulating an inclusive vision and leading the way there.

Did Rutgers utilize a systems approach with respect to lesbian and gay concerns? The data provide a mixed review in this area. Systematic assessments were undertaken in a variety of areas. Cavin's survey of homophobic harassment provided information about the quality of life and safety of lesbian and gay students. Surveys of all faculty and staff touched on quality of life issues for lesbian and gay faculty and staff. The Task Group on Ending Homophobia produced recommendations designed to improve the quality of life. In this way the culture and psycho-social environment of Rutgers was addressed. Assessments about the curriculum provided information on this core of the university. A separate Task Group on Curriculum and Academic Affairs developed recommendations in this area, addressing the technology of the university. The Task Group on Personnel Benefits and Services looked at some policy issues and some survey questions did address how safe it was to "come out," but personnel issues were not addressed in a systematic way. Structural issues were not addressed and management practices received little attention. Therefore, this effort was not one that could be described as a total systems approach.

While support activities were strong, leadership was weak, and a systems approach was less than total. Both issues of social diversity and social justice were addressed at Rutgers. However, given the necessity for all three components of Jackson's description of a multicultural organizational development effort to be in evidence, the changes that

occurred at Rutgers could not be classified as an ideal example of multicultural organizational development.

This chapter examined how and why change on lesbian and gay concerns happened at Rutgers. Respondents named many discrete factors in the change process. The following chapter will focus on the implications of this study for education, campus advocates, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of this exploratory study was to address these questions: A) What can be learned from an in-depth look at how and why one university changed with respect to lesbian and gay concerns? B) What change happened at Rutgers? C) What factors or strategies facilitated change at Rutgers?

Findings were derived from a review of various documents and from in-depth interviews conducted with advocates from all three Rutgers campuses. Thirteen members of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns and a high level administrator were interviewed over a six-month period.

It is my hope that the findings of this study will contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of social change within organizations. This study breaks new ground by focusing on lesbian and gay concerns within an organization. This research helps, therefore, to expand our vision of a socially diverse, non-oppressive organization. Strategies and factors identified at Rutgers can sensitize change agents on other campuses to their choice of roles and possible organizational change strategies. The range of skills used by advocates at Rutgers may be of interest to educators concerned with preparing students to effectively address contemporary social problems. Finally, this exploratory study identified factors in the process of change, on lesbian and gay concerns, that need to be further explored towards promoting an agenda for social equality in organizations.

Because research on organizational change with respect to lesbian and gay concerns is virtually nonexistent, the findings from this exploratory study can provide a starting point for those concerned with expanding social justice concerns and multicultural organizational development.

This chapter will present a model describing the process of campus change on lesbian and gay concerns. In addition, this chapter will consider the implications of this study's findings for the field of education, campus advocates, and future research.

A Model of Campus Change on Lesbian and Gay Concerns

The following, "Stages in the Cycle of Change," is a model describing the process of change on campus focused on lesbian and gay concerns. It is derived from the current study of Rutgers University as well as from eight years of experience as an advocate at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. While more information from other campuses will elaborate the model, it provides useful perspective for campus change agents.

The model is organic and developmental with each stage building upon the previous stage, cycling around in a spiral fashion. The process of change will not effectively move on to successive stages until the work at the previous stage has been successful. At Rutgers the "DKE incidents" did not become "critical incidents" because student empowerment and leadership was not yet sufficiently developed. This developmental perspective on change can help advocates sustain their energy over the long-haul and help them focus on the important work to be done in each stage. In addition, it can help sensitize advocates to the need for different skills and strategies at different stages in the process of change. Researchers, too, may find this model useful as a starting point for analyzing data on other campuses' lesbian and gay change efforts. As more data is gathered, the model can be modified until a more comprehensive model of change emerges.

The model presents four stages: "Plowing the Ground/Planting the Seeds;" "Serendipity/The Critical Incident/Sprouting;" "Movement Building-Fertilizing, Watering, and Weeding;" and "Harvesting the Crop/Re-Planting for the Next Crop." The first stage lays a solid foundation for future work. During this stage educational and consciousness-raising work will play a prominent role. These efforts will be focused both on the lesbian, gay, and bisexual community as well as on the heterosexual community. The increased

awareness should be channeled into building strong groups and organizations, and developing solid leadership. Such groups can begin the process of documenting the problems faced by members of the lesbian, gay, and bisexual community, especially harassment. Another important piece of work for this stage is getting non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation policies in place. A campus that has accomplished all of these tasks will have built a strong foundation for subsequent stages of change.

The second stage is catalyzed by an external incident or event. It is the task of this stage to frame the incident in a way that allows for the greatest amount of institutional change. For example, in framing an act of harassment the focus would not just be on the individual perpetrators. It would be more useful to focus on the campus culture, the ignorance that gives rise to homophobic harassment and what the administration is or is not doing to address the underlying ignorance. Change advocates also need to know and articulate what they want, not just what they don't want. The other significant task at this stage is to get the issue of heterosexism on the campus' agenda. Capitalizing on media attention focuses a spotlight on the issue, as does galvanizing a show of mass support, through petitions, rallies, letters, or phone calls.

The third stage involves moving from the crises response mode into a sustained, longer term response. If stage two got the issue on the agenda, it is the task of this stage to keep the issue on the agenda. To accomplish this task existing organizations must be strengthened through recruiting, nurturing and training members. Existing allies should be nurtured and coalitions must be built. All of these activities contribute to building a movement for change. Waging an on-going campaign also involves developing a deeper analysis of the problems, a clearer vision of what change is necessary, and a concrete strategic plan. This plan must be systematically implemented and evaluated in an on-going fashion.

The last stage involves the institutionalizing of the changes that have been implemented in the earlier stages. Such changes must be built into the fabric of the

institution. As a result of increased lesbian, gay, and bisexual visibility, resources, and inclusion there may be more lesbian, gay, and bisexual people coming out. This will involve cycling back to some of the tasks of the first stage such as education, consciousness-raising and organization building. It is also possible that a more organized backlash will result from these successes. This backlash must be creatively handled.

The on-going process of campus change on lesbian and gay concerns may involve cycling through the stages of this model many times on a wide variety of issues. In order to get a non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation clause added to the campus non-discrimination policies, it may be necessary to go through all the stages of this cycle. In obtaining the inclusion of sexual orientation in the discrimination policies a stronger foundation for future change will be built. While it seems possible to move onto the next stage without completing all the tasks at an earlier one, the more complete the work at one stage the better the chance of success at the next.

Stages in the Cycle of Change

I) Plowing the Ground/Planting the Seeds

- Dealing with Internalized Homophobia
 - Visible Role Models
 - Support Groups/Workshops
- Education
 - Developing Allies
 - Making the Connections with Other Isms
 - Increasing Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Visibility
- Developing Campus Organizations and Leadership
 - Multiple Organizations
 - Multiple Roles/Goals
 - Training for Activists
- Non-Discrimination Policies Accepted
- Documenting Problems/Harassment

- Networking
 - Other Campuses
 - Local Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Groups
 - National Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Groups

II) Serendipity--The Critical Incident-Sprouting

- Using the Critical Incident/Launching the Campaign
 - Framing the Issue/Using "their rhetoric"
 - Media Attention
 - Clear Demands
 - Show of Mass Support (letters, demonstrations, speak-outs)

III) Movement Building-Fertilizing, Watering, and Weeding

- Sustained Advocacy/Waging the Campaign
 - ANALYSIS--Documenting the Problems/Survey research
 - GOALS--Developing a Vision/Recommendations
 - STRATEGY--Developing Implementation Plan (tactics, timeline, accountability)
- Building the Organizations/Building a Movement
 - Recruiting New Members
 - Supporting and Nurturing Members
 - On-going Training and Skill Building for Members
 - Reaching Out to Other Constituencies/Working in Coalition
 - Increased Faculty and Staff Involvement

IV) Harvesting the Crop/Re-Planting for the Next Crop

- Institutionalizing Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns
 - Increased Resources (Special Program for GLB Concerns, library resources, funding, support services, etc.)
 - Routine Inclusion of GLB Concerns in Administrative Statements
 - Increased Visibility of Lesbian and Gay Culture
 - Staff People Charged with Responsibility for GLB Concerns
 - Non-Discrimination and Anti-Harassment Policies Routinely Publicized and Enforced
 - New Norms of Appropriate Behavior
 - New Language
 - Lesbian and Gay Studies Courses
- Cycling Back to Education and Organizing
 - More GLB People Coming Out and Being Proud
 - More education and organizing
- Cycling Back to Dealing with Critical Incidents
 - Dealing with Backlash
 - Isolating Those Violating the New Community Norms

Implications for Education

According to Michael Ellis, "as educators, it is part of our challenge to facilitate ways in which our students can confront and deal with issues that are threatening, issues that are risky" (p. 118). If indeed it is the role of education to prepare students to tackle the hard issues facing our society, then what are the implications of this study for the field of education?

The issues of heterosexism and homophobia are among the hard issues currently facing our society. Homophobic violence is on the rise, lesbians and gay men have no federal civil rights protection, and money for AIDS research (which disproportionately affects gay men, as well as people of color and IV drug users) is meager. These are only a few of the many manifestations of heterosexism. Working to change such an entrenched system of oppression is one of the hard tasks for which the educational system should prepare students. This task not only involves learning information and skills to confront heterosexism on the interpersonal level, but skills to change institutionalized heterosexism as well. Toward that end, the following are implications from this study that that educators and others working in the field of education may want to consider.

Teaching a Range of Strategies and Skills

From this study, it seems that teaching skills and strategies that fall both within the "normative re-educative" paradigm as well as those that fall within the "power-coercive" paradigm are necessary. While the teaching of human relations or group dynamics theory or skills are far from central to the curriculum, the inclusion of organizing skills is virtually absent from the curriculum. When including issues of oppression at all, the educational system may rely solely or primarily on educational strategies of consciousness raising. This study suggests that such reliance is problematic. Educators must begin to teach "power-coercive" strategies as well. Skills in organizing constituencies, utilizing the media, framing issues, working in coalition, and mobilizing support must become part of

the established curricula. Consciousness is a necessary prerequisite, but empowerment requires action as well. Some actions will take the form of what Walton (1974) labels "Attitude Strategies" which involve changing the consciousness or attitudes of others. The Rutgers case highlights the necessity of Walton's "Power Strategies," too. Educators must reflect on their approaches to determine whether both of these strategies and the corresponding theory and skills are included. If they find a preponderance of one type of strategy, they should expand to include the other.

Teaching Visioning

Another area highlighted in this study, that educators may wish to note, is visioning. In order to create institutional change having a clear image of the desired change is important. The Rutgers' advocates were able to paint a vivid picture for administrators of what they wanted to see, rather than simply present their grievances. The largely analytic nature of most of today's educational process well prepares students to describe problems. However the more right brain skills of visioning are rarely included in the educational context.

Teaching the History of Lesbian and Gay Liberation

It proved important to the advocates for change at Rutgers to place their activities within the context of the larger lesbian and gay liberation effort. Advocates noted how important it was to feel connected to those that came before, as well as to those waging the struggle for lesbian and gay liberation elsewhere. It follows from this that including information on the history of the lesbian and gay liberation movement, as well as on contemporary efforts would be an important addition to the curricula. By extension including the history and current liberation efforts on other issues of oppression would also be important.

Institutional Change as the Lesson

In addition to the content and process of what is taught in our educational institutions, it is also important to consider the institution itself. Holvino (1989) says, "organizations are important "carriers" of social oppression. In fact, organizations represent and maintain the oppressive arrangements of society" (p. 3). If a few individual educators, concerned with multicultural education, incorporate lesbian and gay concerns into their curricula while other structural and policy changes do not happen, students will be receiving a mixed message. If the oppressive arrangements of heterosexism are everywhere manifest on campus the faculty who are trying to make changes in this area within their classrooms will be exceptions to the rule. Institutional change is necessary or campus administrators and faculty will be in the precarious position of saying, "Do as we say, not as we do!" Campus change efforts can also provide essential practicum experience to students.

The Role of Educational Organizations

There are also significant implications of this study for organizations or institutions serving the educational community. Information from other campuses was a key factor in the change process at Rutgers. Are such organizations as the Department of Education, the New Jersey Department of Higher Education, or the American Council on Education prepared to help campuses deal with lesbian and gay concerns? The American Council on Education has an Office of Minority Concerns and an Office of Women in Higher Education. This study suggests that developing an office or program dealing with lesbian and gay concerns on campus would be helpful to individual campuses struggling to make change. In addition to concrete information, such an office or program would send a message to individual campuses that dealing with lesbian and gay concerns are not taboo. The Rutgers case showed how important it was to normalize the issue.

Implications for Change Agents

In recent years we have seen an increase of homophobic harassment on campus, along with other forms of intolerance and harassment. An organized backlash against racially oppressed groups, women, and gays, lesbians, and bisexuals is well underway. The cover story of the December 24, 1990 Newsweek Magazine, entitled "Thought Police," reported on the ideological controversy surrounding these issues on campuses nationwide. Faculty who want to uphold the status quo, hence retain power and privilege for white, male, heterosexuals have organized the National Association of Scholars. Students have organized "White Student Unions," and "Heterosexual Pride Rallies." Colleges and universities are one arena where the struggle against various forms of oppression is being waged.

On most campuses the organized and visible lesbian, gay, or bisexual community is entirely comprised of students. There may be an occasional "out" faculty or staff person, but rarely a formal faculty or staff group. Therefore the most likely advocates for change on lesbian and gay concerns on campus tend to be the students and student organizations. What do the findings of the present study suggest for such advocates working against heterosexism on other campuses?

Multi Strategy Approach

The findings of this study clearly demonstrate that many factors were important in the process of change. Many advocates find a particular type of strategy, (for example, writing letters to the editor, meeting with the Dean, or staging a sit-in), that is their personal favorite, and they repeatedly use this strategy in every situation. An implication, stemming from the study of Rutgers, for campus change agents is to broaden their repertoires of strategies for change. Both strategies that would be classified as "normative-re-educative" and "power-coercive" are important to the change process.

Change Agent Competencies

A related implication involves the range of competencies and skills change agents need. Change agents should be able to both empower lesbians, gays, and bisexuals and heterosexual allies. Change agents will need a good understanding of the dynamics of heterosexism, including internalized homophobia. Change agents should be able to engage others in consciousness raising in one to one conversations, as well as in larger forums. Change agents should learn to document the concerns of the lesbian and gay community, especially homophobic harassment. Change agents should be able to clearly articulate the problems facing the lesbian, gay, and bisexual community and propose concrete solutions to these problems. Change agents should be able to organize, run, and successfully advertise events, meetings, forums, etc. Successfully using the media to attract attention to concerns of the lesbian and gay community is another important skill. In short, advocates need both good human relation skills and good organizing skills. Developing the art of strategizing is also an important skill. It is important for change agents to know when to use different types of tactics in the process of change.

Training for Advocates

It is important for advocates to attend to recruiting new members, building their groups and organizations, and developing leadership. Students are the most likely source of visible and organized lesbian and gay energy on campus. Unfortunately this constituency also has the highest turnover rate. Therefore, providing on-going opportunities for people to learn the necessary change agent skills and competencies is essential. Advocates should ideally think about training their successors. Such training can be done formally and informally.

Coalition Building

Change on lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers was built on the foundation of work that had previously been done on issues of racism and sexism. Lesbians and gay men, and

their allies were able to build upon and extend on the pre-existing, rhetoric about race and gender issues. In a real sense, lesbian and gay liberation is following in the footsteps of the movements for racial justice and the women's movement.

Currently those organizing the backlash against each of these oppressed groups are often the same. Therefore, it is clearly in the self-interest of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals to support and work on issues of sexism and racism on campus. Such work helps pave the way for attention to their own concerns in addition to confronting common adversaries. It is therefore very important to work on issues of racism and sexism within the lesbian and gay community as well as in the wider university community. Since many members of the lesbian, gay, and bisexual community are the targets of multiple forms of oppression, work on these "other" issues is critical to many lesbians, gays, and bisexuals directly. Campus change agents on lesbian and gay concerns would be wise to take leadership in this arena.

Networking with faculty, staff, administrators, students, and alumni/ae

At Rutgers a network of faculty, staff, administrators, students, and alumni/ae all worked together in the change effort. Each of these segments of campus can play different roles in the change process. Many times students forget that there are lesbian, gay, and bisexual faculty, staff, administrators, and alumni/ae who are potential allies in working for change.

Some campuses have organized alumni/ae groups some do not. Advocates for change can help organize gay and lesbian alumni/ae associations by placing ads in lesbian and gay papers and in their school's alumni/ae magazine. This constituency can lend support and expertise to students, intervene with administrators, and provide some financial backing.

Sometimes it is more difficult for faculty, staff, and administrators to "come out" on campus. Helping to organize campus-wide, groups or task forces dealing with lesbian and gay concerns that include both heterosexual allies as well as lesbians, gays, and bisexuals

can provide a vehicle for closeted faculty, staff, and administrators to become involved. From Rutgers we learned that even without “coming out,” such supporters can play a significant role in the process either behind the scenes or in public.

Networking with other campuses

At Rutgers the work on lesbian and gay concerns done on other campuses played a significant role. Other campuses can provide a vision of what’s possible, concrete information and tools, lessen isolation, and serve to “normalize” dealing with lesbian and gay concerns. Advocates may find it very useful to network with change agents from other campuses.

There are already some structured opportunities for sharing of this kind to take place. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) sponsors a yearly “Creating Change” Conference which features a “campus track.” The Campaign to End Homophobia, and the now defunct, Fund for Human Dignity have both sponsored conferences that have included campus concerns. Regional Lesbian and Gay Student Associations also sponsor yearly conferences where ideas, resources, and skills can be shared. The United Students of America (USA), a national student organization is in the process of organizing a lesbian and gay caucus. Finally, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force currently has a part-time Campus Project which distributes a newsletter.

The Rutgers’ findings indicate that putting energy and resources into networking with other campuses makes sense. Advocates should avail themselves of conferences, newsletters, and reports published by different campuses. It is also important to those concerned with social justice to support organizations such as NGLTF or USA so that clearinghouses for information about lesbian and gay issues on campus continue to exist.

Connecting with Wider Movement

It was important for change agents at Rutgers to feel connected to the wider lesbian and gay liberation movement. Campus advocates should build bridges with off-campus

lesbian and gay groups in their areas. In addition to lessening isolation, such contact can provide students with experienced lesbian and gay activists from whom they can learn necessary skills.

Students may also find it useful to learn about the history of the lesbian and gay liberation movement, both on their campus as well as in the wider society. Students may also want to think about creating a local lesbian and gay archives so that successive generations of campus advocates will have easy access to what came before.

A Tool for Advocates

Based on the research undertaken in this study, the following "Sexual Orientation Diversity on Campus Assessment" was developed. This can be a useful tool for advocates to use to examine and assess what their college or university is currently doing to improve conditions for lesbian and gay people. If a campus checked most of the items included in the assessment, it would seem that lesbian and gay concerns are attended to in an integrated, on-going, central, and comprehensive manner. In this regard they would be well on their way in a multicultural organizational development effort. Similarly, if only a few items were checked that would indicate that very little meaningful attention is focused on lesbian and gay concerns.

Perhaps of equal importance, the "Sexual Orientation Diversity on Campus Assessment" furnishes a concrete vision for what can be done to improve the quality of life for lesbian and gay people on campus. Finally, and perhaps most critically, this "Sexual Orientation Diversity on Campus Assessment" can provide advocates with strategic direction in the process of moving from the status quo toward an enhanced multicultural vision.

Table 4. THE SEXUAL ORIENTATION DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS ASSESSMENT

As you go through the following questionnaire please place a check mark next to those items which currently exist on your campus. Fill in the blank spaces with the information requested. You may need to do some research to accurately complete the questionnaire. Your responses will give you a clear picture of the current situation on your campus.

- ___ A broadly representative Task Force on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns exists, with gay, lesbian, and bisexual participation.
- ___ The Task Force is supported by the President/Chancellor
- ___ The Task Force is chaired by a highly respected member of the campus community.
- ___ The Task Force is a standing committee, not a short-term group.
- ___ There is an institution-wide agenda for gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns.
- ___ There is one designated individual charged with gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns.
- ___ To whom is that person accountable? _____
- ___ What level of resources does that person have at their disposal?
Funding _____
Personnel _____
- ___ An institutional audit on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns has been conducted.

The following facets of campus life were included in this audit:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| ___ historical trends | ___ curricular content |
| ___ faculty | ___ policies |
| ___ staff | ___ homophobic harassment |
| ___ students | ___ student services |
| ___ residence life | ___ student attitudes |
| ___ gay, lesbian, and bisexual needs | |
| ___ resources for gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns | |
- ___ Results of this audit were widely publicized by top administrators.

(Continued next page)

(Table 4 continued)

- ___ We have developed a plan for action. It includes the following elements:
- ___ A vision for what the institution can be like that is consistent with its overall goals and mission.
 - ___ A set of concrete, quantitative and qualitative short-term and long-term goals.
 - ___ Goals that are incremental and can be reasonably attained.
 - ___ A timetable with target dates for the implementation of specific goals.
 - ___ A mechanism to monitor progress against this timetable.
 - ___ Mechanisms for conflict resolution.
 - ___ Responsibility for each task is assigned, and overall responsibility given to one person on campus.
- ___ Leadership from the top demonstrated in practical and symbolic terms.
- ___ Faculty involvement in all phases of institutional assessment, planning, and implementation.
- ___ Involvement of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people.
- ___ students ___ administrators ___ alumni/ae ___ faculty ___ staff
- ___ Support exists for gay, lesbian, and bisexual networks, groups, and organizations.
- ___ supported with recognition
 - ___ supported with resources
- ___ Mentoring for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students, faculty, and staff exists.
- ___ formally
 - ___ informally
- ___ Enhancing diversity with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns is part of the regular, on-going institutional planning process.
- ___ Personnel evaluations include concrete achievements and support for diversity with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns.
- ___ Concrete incentives and rewards are available to encourage and support change.
- ___ If necessary, sanctions are applied to those individuals or units that are uncooperative in the change process.
- ___ A process for periodic reporting to the President or the Trustees exists.

(Continued next page)

(Table 4 continued)

___ Policies banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation exist campus-wide.

___ These policies are written and widely publicized and known.

___ Grievance mechanisms are well publicized and known.

___ Policies exist banning harassment on the basis of sexual orientation.

___ These policies are written and widely publicized and known.

___ Grievance mechanisms are well publicized and known.

___ Orientation and training for new people at all levels, about heterosexism and gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns, exists.

___ Education and training on heterosexism and gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns targeted to each unit exists.

The following units have undergone training/undergo on-going training with respect to heterosexism

___ Campus Police/Security

___ Residential Life Professionals

___ Counseling/Mental Health Services

___ Career Counseling/Placement Services

___ Faculty

___ Teaching Assistants

___ Other _____

___ Other _____

___ Health Services

___ R.A.'s

___ Student Activities

___ New Students Orientation

___ Dean of Students

___ Financial Aid

___ Periodic program evaluations, needs assessments, and audits occur with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns.

___ Statements about diversity/pluralism/multicultural concerns, explicitly including gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns, are included in all material.

___ Outside consultants with expertise in multicultural organizational development and gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns have been utilized in this change effort.

___ Community-wide education programs on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns take place regularly.

___ Community outreach programs about diversity, inclusive of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, have been undertaken.

(Continued next page)

(Table 4 continued)

- ___ Evidence of support and welcoming for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students, staff, and faculty, are included in all outreach materials.
- ___ Gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns are linked to concerns of other traditionally oppressed groups.
- ___ Creating change with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns is viewed as a long-term effort rather than a one-shot deal.
- ___ A number of gay, lesbian, and bisexual faculty are "out" as gay, lesbian, or bisexual.
- ___ A number of gay, lesbian, and bisexual administrators are "out" as gay, lesbian, or bisexual.
- ___ A number of gay, lesbian, and bisexual staff are "out" as gay, lesbian, or bisexual.
- ___ An organized faculty and staff group for gay, lesbian, bisexual concerns exists
- ___ A number of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students are "out" as gay, lesbian, or bisexual.
- ___ An organized student group for gay, lesbian, bisexual concerns exists
- ___ A number of heterosexual allies exists.
- ___ An organized group for heterosexual allies exists
- ___ An administratively-funded program/office, staffed by professionals, specifically for gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues/concerns exists.

Implications for Future Research

While collecting background information for this study, I was unable to find any research on the process of addressing heterosexism within organizations. This exploratory case study began the process of looking at the factors contributing to change on lesbian and gay concerns on campus. The findings from this study can provide a starting point for future research.

Other campuses

One problem with singular case studies is the generalizability of the results. Further research on other campuses that have undergone substantial change on lesbian and gay concerns would be an important addition to this current study. In addition to the specific questions that were asked in the present study, other factors emerged from the study of Rutgers could be included in future research. The model "Stages in the Cycle of Change," can provide an a framework through which to examine the change process. As additional data from other campuses is accumulated this model can be supported or refined.

Longer Term Perspective

Another limitation of the current case study is that it is time bound, a snapshot. At the time of the interviews respondents at Rutgers were still very much involved in the change process. Going back to Rutgers at different time intervals, perhaps every two years over a decade, would add another dimension to this study. Would perceptions change over time? Would additional factors emerge? The answers to these questions would add to our understanding of change.

Organizational Change in other Institutions

Bonilla (1989) and Ingle (1989).sensitize us to the unique characteristics of colleges and universities as organizations. It would be interesting to look at the process of change on lesbian and gay concerns in other kinds of organizations. Corporations, social service

agencies, local governments, or hospitals are other types of institutions that could be studied. Finding other institutions that have seriously confronted heterosexism will be difficult, however, there are some institutions which have begun this process and more will over time.

Other Social Issues

The issue of heterosexism shares much in common with other issues of oppression. There are also unique aspects to each manifestation of oppression. Further research could examine the factors contributing to the process of change on racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, or ableism on campus. Would the process be similar or different to the process of change on heterosexism? Would the same factors be mentioned or different factors?

Summary

Further research and practice along these lines would provide a useful data base for the field of multicultural organizational development. Much of the practice, and subsequent theory has been developed based on the issues of race and gender. Further research on organizational change on the issue of sexual orientation can be used to refine and extend this theory base. This exploratory study was an initial step in extending the field in this direction.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF RUTGERS DOCUMENTS

Anderson, Select Committee Chair. Personal letter to Felice Yeskel, May 15, 1990.

Anderson, Jim, Chair. memo to Select Committee members, April 23, 1990.

Anderson, Jim. Outline of Select Committee Presentation to Acting President Pond.

"Announcement for the Grant Program to Advance Our Common Purposes," 1988-1989 Program to Advance Our Common Purposes.

"Answering the Challenge: Challenge '69 Retrospect and New Visions, Year-end Report, 1988-1989."

"Assistant Dean of Students Program Plan 1989-1990."

Bloustein, Edward , President, Rutgers. "Community Service: A New Requirement for the Educated Person."

Cavin, Susan. "Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbians, Gay, and Bisexual Members of the Rutgers Community New Brunswick, New Jersey," April 8, 1987.

"Challenge '69: Retrospect and New Visions, Year-end Report 1988-1989: Answering the Challenge."

"Gay Students Demanding Equality on College Campuses," U. The National College Newspaper, Special Report, April 1990, p.14-15.

"Gaybasher News," "the official publication of the North Jersey Anti-Gay League," October 1989 issue.

"Including You.Students of Color, Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Students, Women Students of Rutgers College: A Publication of the Dean of Students" (draft brochure).

"Job Description: Assistant Dean of Students."

Kratz, Allen and Cosgrove, Ann. "Concerns of Lesbian and Gay Students at Rutgers University, 1988: A Report on The Rutgers University Student Needs Assessment Survey for Lesbian and Gay Issues."

"News from Rutgers GALA: Rutgers University Gay and Lesbian Alumni/ae," Winter 1989 and Spring 1990 editions.

Nieberding, Ron (ed.). "In Every Classroom: The Report of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns."

Organizational Charts. "Central Administration," and "Regional Administration," September 1987.

Organizational Charts. "Central Administration," and "Regional Administration," March 1990.

Peterson, Donald. "Students Speak on Prejudice: A Survey of Intergroup Attitudes and Ethnoviolent Behavior Among Undergraduate Students at Rutgers University," c 1990.

Pond. Text of letters of invitation to Select Committee members.

"President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey January 1989"

"Rutgers: A Magazine for Alumni and Friends of New Jersey's State University" Winter 1989.

"Rutgers College Student Guide 1989-1990: What to do, Where to go, and Who to see."

"Rutgers Focus: A Newspaper for Rutgers University Faculty and Staff," December 15, 1989, February 9, 1990, and March 9, 1990 issues.

Rutgers Magazine, "Random Walk: Why Don't Gays Keep Quiet?" p.38, Nov./Dec. 1988.

Rutgers News Service. Press Release, February 1, 1989.

"Rutgers Press Release, February 1, 1989."

"Rutgers Press Release, October 21, 1989."

"Rutgers Press Release, November 9, 1989."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, at New Brunswick, Graduate School Catalog, 1989-1991"

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey," basic, general outreach brochure.

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, College of Nursing Catalog, 1988-1991."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey Graduate School of Education Catalog, 1989-1992."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, Graduate School at Newark Catalog, 1989-1992."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey Handbook for Faculty 1988-1990."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, School of Law--Newark Catalog, 1987-1989."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, School of Social Work Catalog, 1988-1991."

"Rutgers University President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns: 1988-1989 Program Report.. .."

"Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Spring Update: June 12, 1989"

"Special Populations and Affiliate Student Programs."

"Summary: Survey of College Support Services and Activities for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Students--Summary of a Telephone Survey of Eight Schools, January 19, 1988."

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to all chairs, directors, etc.

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to provosts and VP's.

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to selected administrators.

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to student leaders.

"The Committee to Advance Our Common Purposes: Summary of Activities 1987-1990."

"The Daily Targum," February 14 & 15 1990 editions-- student-run, daily paper.

"The Health Advocate," a publication of Rutgers Student Health Service, November 1989 and February 1990 issues.

"The Medium," February 14, 1990 edition--Livingston College, student-run weekly.

"The Newsletter of the Graduate School-New Brunswick," Winter 1990 issue.

"The Rutgers University Lesbian/Gay Alliance 1969-1989: The First Twenty Years-- The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries, Vol. LI, No. 2, December 1989."

"Update," a publication of Rutgers Student Health Service, Jan. 22-29, 29-Feb 2, Feb 5-9, and Feb 12-16, 1990 issues.

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

Dear Colleague,

I am interested in conducting a dissertation study about how colleges and universities are dealing with gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns. I have worked as the Coordinator of the UMass Program for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns for the last five years. I want to study Rutgers University, because of the significant effort that is being expended on lesbian and gay concerns. It is the purpose of this study to shed light on the question of how and why universities respond in a positive manner to the problem of heterosexism. I plan to both review relevant documents and to interview a sample of the members of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns. I hope to interview Committee member's who are students, staff, faculty, and administrators, as well as at least one member of each task group. I got the names and roles of the members of the Select Committee from Ron Nieberding, and selected you as someone who I would like to interview.

This letter is to explain what I would need from you and to request your consent to participate in this study. A decision to participate would mean the following:

Agreeing to let me interview you. The interview would be no more than one and a half hours in length to be conducted in person at Rutgers, and audio recorded. Every effort will be made to schedule an interview at your convenience.

If you agree to participate in this study, all information you provide will be kept confidential. The results will be reported in such a way as to conceal the identities of the participants. In addition to appearing in my dissertation, the results of the study may be reported in scholarly journals and shared at professional conferences.

The audio tape of our interview , and any other correspondence we may have will either be returned to you or destroyed at the end of this study according to your wishes.

You may withdraw from this research project at any time. I will furnish you with a summary of the research results at the conclusion of this study. I will be happy to answer any questions you may have concerning the research procedures and purposes.

I am enthusiastic about documenting the ground-breaking work on gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns being done on your campus. I hope the results of this study will aid

in the continued commitment of making our campuses diverse and pluralistic communities, as well as furthering the theory and practice of multicultural organizational development with respect to gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues. I hope you will agree to participate.

Thank you for your cooperation and support.

Sincerely,

Felice Yeskel

P.S. Please feel free to contact me at the following address/number:

Felice Yeskel
117 Cance House/SW
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

(413) 545-4824

CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research project I am conducting for my dissertation. Please indicate your willingness to participate in this research project by signing below.

I, the undersigned, agree to answer questions and to provide information to Felice Yeskel for the purposes of dissertation research. I am aware that any data I provide will be kept confidential, unless I authorize otherwise, and that I may withdraw from participation at any time.

Date

Signature

Please return to:

Felice Yeskel
117 Cance House/SW
UMass
Amherst, MA 01007

APPENDIX C

SELECT COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP BY ROLE

<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Students</u>
[wfgn]	[bf•gb]	[wm•c]	[wfgb]
[lf•gn]	[wfb]	[wmb]	[wfb]
[wmb]	[wmb]	[bmb]	[fb]
[wmb]	[wmc]	[mb]	[wmgb]
[mb]	[wgfb]	[afb]	[wmgb]
[bfgb]	[wm•gb]	[wm•b]	
[wmb]	[bm•gn]		
[wfgb]	[wmb]		

Alumni

[wmg]

Key

•=Liaison for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
 g=Publicly identified as Gay
 b=New Brunswick Campus
 n=Newark Campus
 c=Camden Campus

w=white
 b=Black
 l=Latino/a
 a=Asian
 f=female

m=male

APPENDIX D

SELECT COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP BY TASK GROUP

Task Group on Curriculum and Academic Affairs

Chair --(mAb)	(mFb)
(mFb)	(mTgb)
(mALg)	(fAb)
(mFb)	(fF•gn)

Task Group on Ending Homophobia

Chair--(fFgn)	(mAb)
(mS•c)	(mSb)
(fAb)	(mA•gn)
(mTgb)	(mALg)
(fFgb)	(fA•gb)
(fSb)	(fFgb)
(mTgb)	(mFb)
(mS•b)	(fTgb)

Task Group on the Special Concerns of Lesbians

Co-Chairs--(fTgb)	(fFgb)
(fFgb)	

Task Group on the Special Concerns of People of Color

Co-Chairs--(mA•gn)	(mSb)
(fFgb)	(fF•gn)

Task Group on Personnel Benefits and Services

Chair--(mA•gb)	(mAb)
(mALg)	(fF•gn)
(fAb)	

Task Group on Student Life and Services

Chair--mTgb)	(fSb)
(mALg)	(mSb)
(mAb)	(fTb)

Task Group on University Publications

Chair-- (mS•b)	(fFgn)
(mA•gb)	(mTgb)
(mALg)	(fAb)

Task Group on the Special Concerns of the Camden Campus

Chair--(mS•c)

Task Group on the Special Concerns of the Newark Campus

Chair-- (mA•gn)
(fF•gn)

Key

•=Liaison for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
F=Faculty
L=Alumni
S=Staff
T=Students
f=female

A=Administrator
g=Publicly identified as Gay
b=New Brunswick Campus
n=Newark Campus
c=Camden Campus
m=male

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Questions or Areas of Interest for Participant Interviews

I) Introduction

- a. purpose of the interview
- b. confidentiality and anonymity
- c. permission to audiotape
- d. interview procedure/agenda review
- e. questions or concerns of interviewee

II) General Information

- a. date
- b. name
- c. role within University
- d. role within Committee
- e. how many years at the University
- f. which campus

III) Questions

My premise is that there recently has been lots of activity around lesbian and gay concerns at Rutgers. Do you agree?

In general I am interested in what is happening here at Rutgers and what do you think are the primary factors enabling it to occur?

History

Could you briefly describe the history of activity/efforts on glb concerns at Rutgers.

Which activity/effort do you think was most significant in creating change? Why?

What factors have been the greatest blocks, what factors have been most supportive in creating change re: lesbian and gay concerns?

Present

Could you briefly describe the current state of affairs re: glb concerns at Rutgers. Does this represent a significant change from the past? How?

What do you think is most significant about the current situation?

What factors do you see as the greatest blocks and what factors do you see as most supportive of change efforts?

Future

Could you briefly describe where you think Rutgers is going re: glb concerns. What is your sense of where you are going in the next few years?

What factors do you see as the greatest blocks, what factors do you see as most supportive?

The What

The following categories have been found useful for understanding an organization with respect to social justice concerns.

Would you comment on Rutgers **vision/mission** as it relates to glb issues

Would you comment on how sexual orientation or "being out as glb" impacts on **positions held, hiring, firing, promotion, merit, etc.**

Would you comment on **policies, messages from the administration, and rewards/sanctions** as they relate to glb/heterosexism issues.

Would you comment about glb issues as they relate to the **curriculum, counseling services, library, orientation programs, resource allocations, programs, etc.**

Would you comment on the **climate** of Rutgers for glb people, **safety, support available, culture, openness.**

How has the larger context received the recent activities on lesbian and gay concerns? Regents, Board, Trustees, Legislature, NJ Public?

Would you comment on the extent to which homophobic attitudes/behaviors **impact on the work/learning environment** here at Rutgers.

The Why

What strategies have been most influential at creating change at Rutgers?

Leadership (top, from the ranks, /students, faculty, staff, administrators)

Pressure Tactics (demonstrations, petitions, media attention, demands)

Education (trainings, courses, written materials)

Research (systematic investigation, theory)

Critical Incidents (concerns for safety)

External Factors (legal, community context, AIDS)

Were the changes here at Rutgers influenced by what is/was happening at other colleges or universities? How?

Did work being done/that had been done around other social issues such as racism, sexism, ableism influence the changes on glb issues? How?

Do you think over the last few years there has been a qualitative leap in dealing with glb concerns?

If so, what do you think are the primary factors that contributed to this leap.

Anything else, you'd like to share?

Is it OK for me to give you a call if I have any follow-up questions about our interview?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, S. and Love, B. Sappho Was a Right-on Woman: A Liberated View of Lesbianism. New York, NY: Stein and Day, 1972.
- Ackerman, R. "How Companies Respond to Social Demands," In Harvard Business Review, pp 88-98, July/August 1973.
- Adam, B. The Survival of Domination. New York, NY: Elsevier, North, Holland, Inc., 1978.
- Adam, B. The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1987.
- Adelman, C., Jenkins, D. and Kemmis, S. "Rethinking Case Study: Notes from the Second Cambridge Conference," In Case Study: An Overview. Case Study Methods 1 (Series). Victoria, Australia: Deakin University Press, 1983.
- Adler, N. "Organizational Development in a Multicultural Environment," In the Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 349-365, 1983.
- Adler, J. et. al. "Thought Police," Newsweek, p. 48, December 24, 1990.
- Allport, G. W. The Nature of Prejudice. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1980.
- Altman, D. Homosexual Oppression and Liberation. New York, NY: Outerbridge and Dientsfrey, E. P. Sutton, 1971.
- American Council of Education. One Third of a Nation. Washington, DC, 1988.
- American Sociological Association's Task Group on Homosexuality. "Report of the American Sociological Association's Task Group on Homosexuality," American Sociologist, v. 17, 1982.
- Bendet, P. "Hostile Eyes: A Report on Homophobia on American Campuses," Campus Voice, August/September, p.30, 1986.
- Bennis, Benne, Chin, and Corey. The Planning Of Change. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969
- Berzon, B. "Developing a Positive Gay Identity," In B. Berzon (ed.), Positively Gay. Los Angeles, CA: Mediamix Associates, 1979.
- Betters-Reed, B. and Moore, L. "Managing Diversity in Organizations: Professional and Curricular Issues," Unpublished manuscript draft, 1988.
- Blumenfeld, W. and Raymond, D. Looking at Gay and Lesbian Life. New York, NY: Philosophical Library, 1988.

Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S. Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods. Boston, MA: Allyn and Acon, Inc., 1982.

Bonilla, J. "Organizational Development in Higher Education," Unpublished manuscript, 1989.

Boston Lesbian Psychologies Collective (ed.). Lesbian Psychologies: Explorations and Challenges. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Boswell, J. Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Bullough, V. Homosexuality: A History. New York: New American Library, 1979.

Cavin, S. Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Members of the Rutgers Community. Unpublished manuscript, 1987.

Chin, R. and Benne, K. "General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Systems," in Zaltman, G., Kotler, P., and Kaufman, I., Creating Social Change. New York: Holt Rhinehart, and Winston, 1972.

Clark, D. The New Loving Someone Gay. Berkeley, CA: Celestial Arts, 1987.

Coleman, J. S. "Conflicting Theories of Social Change," in Zaltman (Ed), Processes and Phenomena of Social Change. New York: John Wiley, pp 61-74, 1973.

Collins, H. "Gay Students: A Stronger Force but a Larger Target," Philadelphia Inquirer, Section E, p. 1, May 11, 1989.

Cross, E. Issues of Diversity. In Sunrise Seminars, (Vol 2), D. Vails-Weber and J. Potts (Eds). Arlington, VA: NTL Institute, pp. 15-19, 1985.

Crowfoot and Chessler. "Contemporary Perspectives on Planned Social Change: A Comparison," Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences, v. 10, pp. 278-303, 1974.

Cruikshank, M (ed.). Lesbian Studies Present and Future. Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982.

Crull, S. and Bruton, B. "Possible Decline in Tolerance Toward Minorities: Social Distance on a Midwest Campus," Sociology and Social Research, v. 70, pp. 57-62, 1985

D'Augelli, A. "Anti-Lesbian and Anti-Gay Discrimination and Violence on University Campuses," Paper presented at the Northeast Regional Conference on Prejudice and Violence, March 1988.

DeCecco, J. P. Bashers, Baiters, and Bigots: Homophobia in American Society. New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, 1985.

D'Emilio, J. "The Campus Environment for Gay and Lesbian Life," Academe, v. 76 (1), January-February, 1990.

D'Emilio, J. Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Denizen, N. K. The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods. Chicago, IL: Aldine, 1970.

Ellis, M. "Homophobia and Heterosexism in the College Union," in Davis, N. & Hahn, L. (eds) Blueprints: Frameworks for the Future. Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Association of College Unions International 65th. Bloomington, IN: Association of College Unions, 1986.

Erikson, E. Identity and the Life Cycle. New York: International University Press, 1968.

Freiberg, P. "Why Johnny Can't Tolerate Gays," The Advocate, p. 8, March 14, 1989.

Friere, P. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Translated by Myra. B. Ramos. New York, NY: Seabury Press, 1968.

Frye, M. The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory. Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press, 1983.

Fullan, M., Miles, M., and Taylor, G. Organization Development in Schools: The State of the Art. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1981.

Gibbs, A. "Gay Student Organizations on Campus: The Controversy Continues," Journal of College Student Personnel, v. 20, pp. 4585-89, 1979.

Gibbs, A. "Colleges and Gay Student Organizations: An Update," NASPA Journal, v. 22, pp. 60-63, sum.1984.

Goetz, J. P., and LeCompte, M. D. Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research. Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984.

Goldberg, R. "Attitude Change Among College Students Toward Homosexuality," JACH, v 30, 260-268, June, 1982.

Goldenberg, I. Oppression and Social Intervention. Chicago, IL: Nelson Hall, 1978.

Goodman, G., Lakey, G., Lashof, J. , and Thorne, E.. No Turning Back: Lesbian and Gay Liberation for the 80's. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1983.

Goodwin, M. and Roscoe, B. "AIDS: Students' Knowledge and Attitudes at a Midwestern University," JACH, v. 36, pp. 214-222, January, 1988.

Gramick, J. "Homophobia: A New Challenge," In Social Work, March-April, National Association of Social Workers, Inc., p. 139, 1983.

Green, M. (ed). Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Racial Diversity. Washington, DC: American Council of Education, 1989.

Harro, R. "Heterosexism 101: Addressing Issues in the Educational Process. Unpublished Comprehensive Exam Paper," University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, 1983a.

- Harro, R. "Heterosexism 101: The Content for an Educational Experience," Unpublished Comprehensive Exam Paper, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, 1983b.
- Hastings, P. and Hoge, D. "Religious and Moral Attitude Trends Among College Students, 1948-1984," *Social Forces*, v. 65, pp.370-377, 1986.
- Havelock, R. Planning for Innovation Through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge. Ann Arbor:Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1971.
- Herek, G. "The Yale Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Members of the Yale Community" Unpublished manuscript, 1986.
- Herek, G. "Hate Crimes Against Lesbians and Gay Men," *The American Psychologist*, pp. 948-954, June 1989.
- Herek, G. "Hate Crimes Against Lesbians and Gay Men: Issues for Research and Policy," *American Psychologist*, pp. 948-955, June 1989.
- Holvino, E. "Social Oppression and Change in Organizations," Unpublished manuscript, 1988a.
- Holvino, E. "Organizational Development: A Historical and Philosophical Perspective," Unpublished manuscript, 1988b.
- Howard, E. V. "Extremism on Campus: Symbols of Hate, Symbols of Hope," In The Christian Century, pp. 625-628, July 15-22, 1987.
- Hughes, N., Johnson, Y., and Perriault, Y. Stepping Out of Line: A Workbook on Lesbianism and Feminism. Van Couver, Canada: Press Gang Publishers, 1984.
- Ingle, G. "Valuing Differences," Unpublished manuscript, 1988.
- International Encyclopedia of Higher Education. "Processes of Academic Change," San Francisco: Josey-Bass Publishers, 1978.
- Jackson, B. personal conversation, 1991.
- Jackson, B. and Hardiman, R. "Organizational Stages of Multicultural Awareness," Unpublished manuscript, 1981.
- Jackson, B. and Holvino, E. "Working with Multicultural Organizations: Matching Theory and Practice," In R. Donleavy (ed), *OD Network 1986 Conference Proceedings*, New York: 1986 Organization Development Network, pp. 84-95.
- Jackson, B. and Holvino, E. "Notes on a Multicultural Organization Development Presentation," Unpublished manuscript, 1987.
- Jamison, K. "Affirmative Action Program--Springboard for a Total Organizational Change Effort," In *the OD Practitioner*, v. 10, No. 4, pp. 1-9, Dec. 1978.
- Kanter, R. M. Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: NY Basic Books, 1977.
- Katz, J. "Facing the Challenge of Diversity and Multiculturalism," Draft chapter to be published by ACUI as part of a book on Multicultural Issues, 1987.

Katz, J. and Cronin, D. "Sexuality and College Life," *Change*, pp. 44-49, Feb-March, 1980.

Katz, J. and Miller, F. "Between Monoculturalism and Multiculturalism: Traps Awaiting the Organization,"

Kegan, R. The Evolving Self: Problem and Process in Human Development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Koch-Gonzalez, J. "Institutional Diversification Assessment," Unpublished manuscript, 1989.

Koch-Gonzalez, J. "Institutional Diversification Checklist," Unpublished manuscript, 1989.

Kotler, P. "The Elements of Social Action," in Zaltman, G. (ed), Creating Social Change. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

Laner, M. and Laner, R. "Sexual Preference or Personal Style? Why Lesbians are Disliked," *Journal of Homosexuality*, v. 5, pp. 339-356, 1980.

Lenton, S. "A Student Development Response to The Gay Issue," In *Student Development Practices*.

Levine, M. "Statement to U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary," Subcommittee on Criminal Justice on the Subject of Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men. October 9, 1986.

Levitt, E. and Klassen, A. "Public Attitudes Toward Homosexuality: Part of the 1974 Survey by the Institute for Sex Research," *Journal of Homosexuality*, v. 1, pp. 29-43, 1974.

Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. Naturalistic Inquiry. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1985.

Lindquist, J. "Political Linkage: The Academic-Innovation Process," *Journal of Higher Education*, v. 45, pp. 323-343, 1974.

Lippitt, G. and Lippitt, G. "Cutting Edge Trends in Organizational Development," *Training and Development Journal*, v. 38:7, pp. 59-62, 1984.

Love, B. "1985 Multicultural Organization Development," Unpublished course notes, School of Education, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Low, J. "The Davis Social Environment: A Report of Student Opinions," Davis, CA: University of California, Office of Student Affairs Research and Information, 1988.

Lynton, R. 1981 Letter to Colleagues.

Manahan, N. "Homophobia in the Classroom," In M. Cruikshank (ed.), Lesbian Studies Present and Future. Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. Designing Qualitative Research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989.

- McGill, M. Organization Development for Operating Managers. New York, NY: AMACOM, 1977.
- Memmi, A. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.
- Merriam, S. Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach. San Francisco, CA: Josey Bass Inc., 1988.
- Miller, J. B. Toward a New Psychology of Women. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1976.
- Moore, W. Social Change, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963.
- National Center for Education Statistics. Digest of Education Statistics 1989, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989.
- National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. "Anti-Gay Violence, Victimization, and Defamation in 1988," Unpublished manuscript.
- Newsweek. "Newsweek Poll on Homosexuality," p. 33, August 9, 1983.
- Nieberding, R. (ed.). In Every Classroom: The Report of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns. Unpublished paper, 1989.
- Nyberg, K. and Alston, J. "Homosexual Labeling by University Youths," *Adolescence*, 12, pp. 541-546, 1977.
- Patton, M. Qualitative Evaluation Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1980.
- Pharr, S. Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism. Little Rock, AR: Chardon Press, 1988.
- Price, J. "High School Students' Attitudes Toward Homosexuality," *The Journal of School Health*, pp. 469-474, Oct. 1982.
- Rich, A. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs*, v. 5, No. 4, 1980.
- Rogers, E. "Social Structure and Social Change," In Zaltman, G. (ed), Creating Social Change, NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.
- Rosenthal, A. "Heterosexism and Clinical Assessment," In Studies in Social Work. v. 52, No. 22, March 1982, Northampton, MA: Smith College School of Social Work, 1981.
- Rothman, Jack. "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," In Cox, Fred et al (Eds.), Strategies of Community Organization. Ithaca: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., pp 22-39, 1974.
- Scott, D. "Working with Gay and Lesbian Students," *Bulletin of the Association of College Unions International*, v. 56, pp. 22-25, 1988.
- Sears, J. "The Well of Loneliness: Gay and Lesbian Youth," In Social Issues in Education: Challenge and Responsibility, pp. 80-100.

- Simmons, J. S. Deviants. Boston, MA: Glandessry Press, 1969.
- Smart, J. and Sutehall, K. "The Invisible Minority: Training Resident Hall Staff to Respond to Gay Issues," Paper presented at the ACPA Conference, Boston, MA 1985,
- Sophie, J. "Internalized Homophobia and Lesbian Identity," In E. Coleman (ed.), Integrated Identity for Gay Men and Lesbians. New York, NY: Harrington Park Press, 1988.
- Stafford, M. "In Defense of Gay Lessons," *Journal of Moral Education*, v. 17, No. 1, pp. 11-20, January 1988.
- Stanley, W. "The Rights of Gay Student Organizations," *Journal of College and University Law*, v. 10, No. 3, pp. 397-418, 1983-1984.
- Storms, M. "Attitudes Toward Homosexuality and Femininity in Men," *Journal of Homosexuality*, v. 3, pp. 257-263, 1978.
- Suzuki, B. "Multicultural Education: What's It All About?" Integrated Education, pp. 43-50.
- Tifft, S. "Bigots in the Ivory Tower," *Time Magazine*, January 1989.
- Walton, Richard E. "Two Strategies of Social Change and Their Dilemmas," In Cox, Fred et al (Eds.). Strategies of Community Organization. Ithaca: F.E. Peacock Publisher, pp. 365-71, 1974.
- Warren, Roland L. Truth, Love, and Social Change. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971.
- Weinberg, G. Society and the Healthy Homosexual. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Wells, J. and Franken, M. "University Students' Knowledge About and Attitudes Toward Homosexuality," In Journal of Humanistic Education and Development, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp.81-95, December 1987.
- Westfield, J. and Winkelpleck, J. "Counseling Service Groups for Gay Students," *Small Group Behavior*, v 14(1) pp. 121-128, Feb. 1983.
- Yeskel, F. "The Consequences of Being Gay: A Report on the Quality of Life for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst," Unpublished manuscript, June 1984.
- Yin, R. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1984.
- Young, M. and Whertvine, J. "Attitudes of Heterosexual Students Toward Homosexual Behavior," In *Psychological Reports*, v. 51. pp. 673-674, 1982.

LIST OF RUTGERS DOCUMENTS

Anderson, Select Committee Chair. Personal letter to Felice Yeskel, May 15, 1990.

Anderson, Jim, Chair. memo to Select Committee members, April 23, 1990.

Anderson, Jim. Outline of Select Committee Presentation to Acting President Pond.

"Announcement for the Grant Program to Advance Our Common Purposes," 1988-1989 Program to Advance Our Common Purposes.

"Answering the Challenge: Challenge '69 Retrospect and New Visions, Year-end Report, 1988-1989."

"Assistant Dean of Students Program Plan 1989-1990."

Bloustein, Edward , President, Rutgers. "Community Service: A New Requirement for the Educated Person."

Cavin, Susan. "Rutgers Sexual Orientation Survey: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbians, Gay, and Bisexual Members of the Rutgers Community New Brunswick, New Jersey," April 8, 1987.

"Challenge '69: Retrospect and New Visions, Year-end Report 1988-1989: Answering the Challenge."

"Gay Students Demanding Equality on College Campuses," U. The National College Newspaper, Special Report, April 1990, p.14-15.

"Gaybasher News," "the official publication of the North Jersey Anti-Gay League," October 1989 issue.

"Including You.Students of Color, Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Students, Women Students of Rutgers College: A Publication of the Dean of Students" (draft brochure).

"Job Description: Assistant Dean of Students."

Kratz, Allen and Cosgrove, Ann. "Concerns of Lesbian and Gay Students at Rutgers University, 1988: A Report on The Rutgers University Student Needs Assessment Survey for Lesbian and Gay Issues."

"News from Rutgers GALA: Rutgers University Gay and Lesbian Alumni/ae," Winter 1989 and Spring 1990 editions.

Nieberding, Ron (ed.). "In Every Classroom: The Report of the President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns."

Organizational Charts. "Central Administration," and "Regional Administration," September 1987.

Organizational Charts. "Central Administration," and "Regional Administration," March 1990.

Peterson, Donald. "Students Speak on Prejudice: A Survey of Intergroup Attitudes and Ethnoviolent Behavior Among Undergraduate Students at Rutgers University," c 1990.

Pond. Text of letters of invitation to Select Committee members.

"President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey January 1989"

"Rutgers: A Magazine for Alumni and Friends of New Jersey's State University" Winter 1989.

"Rutgers College Student Guide 1989-1990: What to do, Where to go, and Who to see."

"Rutgers Focus: A Newspaper for Rutgers University Faculty and Staff," December 15, 1989, February 9, 1990, and March 9, 1990 issues.

Rutgers Magazine, "Random Walk: Why Don't Gays Keep Quiet?" p.38, Nov./Dec. 1988.

Rutgers News Service. Press Release, February 1, 1989.

"Rutgers Press Release, February 1, 1989."

"Rutgers Press Release, October 21, 1989."

"Rutgers Press Release, November 9, 1989."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, at New Brunswick, Graduate School Catalog, 1989-1991"

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey," basic, general outreach brochure.

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, College of Nursing Catalog, 1988-1991."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey Graduate School of Education Catalog, 1989-1992."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, Graduate School at Newark Catalog, 1989-1992."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey Handbook for Faculty 1988-1990."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, School of Law--Newark Catalog, 1987-1989."

"Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, School of Social Work Catalog, 1988-1991."

"Rutgers University President's Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns: 1988-1989 Program Report.. .."

"Select Committee for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Spring Update: June 12, 1989"

"Special Populations and Affiliate Student Programs."

"Summary: Survey of College Support Services and Activities for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Students--Summary of a Telephone Survey of Eight Schools, January 19, 1988."

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to all chairs, directors, etc.

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to provosts and VP's.

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to selected administrators.

Text for cover letter that accompanied report as it was sent to student leaders.

"The Committee to Advance Our Common Purposes: Summary of Activities 1987-1990."

"The Daily Targum," February 14 & 15 1990 editions-- student-run, daily paper.

"The Health Advocate," a publication of Rutgers Student Health Service, November 1989 and February 1990 issues.

"The Medium," February 14, 1990 edition--Livingston College, student-run weekly.

"The Newsletter of the Graduate School-New Brunswick," Winter 1990 issue.

"The Rutgers University Lesbian/Gay Alliance 1969-1989: The First Twenty Years-- The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries, Vol. LI, No. 2, December 1989."

"Update," a publication of Rutgers Student Health Service, Jan. 22-29, 29-Feb 2, Feb 5-9, and Feb 12-16, 1990 issues.

